

Airliner sabotage suspect refuses to talk

MANAMA, Bahrain. — A young Asian woman, suspected of involvement in the possible sabotage of a Korean Air (KAL) passenger jet, refused yesterday to answer questions by South Korean and Japanese diplomats, a Japanese official said.

Takao Natsume, charge d'affaires at Japan's embassy in Manama, said the young woman "did not say a word" during 30 minutes of questioning at the Bahrain military hospital where she has been held since a suicide attempt. "She closed her eyes each time she was asked a question," he told reporters.

The woman, who was detained here on Tuesday while carrying a false Japanese passport that Japanese diplomatic sources said bore the name Mayumi Hachiya, is suspected by South Korean authorities of having sabotaged a KAL Boeing 707 that disappeared Sunday over the Thai-Burmese border after a stop in Abu Dhabi.

She attempted to take her life using a cyanide capsule shortly after being detained here with a male companion as they tried to board a plane for Rome, the sources said. The man, reportedly carrying a false passport under the name Shinichi Hachiya, also took cyanide and later died from the poison.

A senior South Korean official in Seoul said that the woman may have left a bag near the cockpit of the KAL airliner before getting off at Abu Dhabi on a flight that had originated in Baghdad.

In Thailand, officials said they now believed KAL flight 858 must have fallen into the Andaman Sea when it disappeared near Burma on Sunday. They said the plane, earlier believed to have plummeted to earth over Thailand or Burma, could have disintegrated and left no large pieces of debris for rescue teams to spot.

Yesterday, South Korea put its 120,000 police force on red alert as security agencies in Seoul and Tokyo probed a possible North Korean connection in the downing of the airliner. Seoul's national police headquarters said it was acting to foil what it called "impure elements" believed to be planning to sabotage the South Korean December 16 presidential election.

Authorities originally intended to impose the alert next week, just before the poll, but advanced the order after President Chun Doo Hwan said yesterday that it appeared Communist North Korea was responsible for the plane's disappearance.

Friday's Korea Times said the woman had been identified by her fingerprints as Mayumi Akabe, a North Korean sympathizer.

A Japanese Foreign Ministry spokesman said police were waiting to check the man's prints, en route from Bahrain, against those of a Korean resident.

The KAL drama caused deep grief in South Korea, not just for the lives lost but also for the poignant reminder that the country is still at war. Few here doubt that North Korea was behind the plane's loss.

The incident takes on major international significance in the context of the 1988 Olympic Games, awarded to Seoul six years ago to the fury of Pyongyang. North Korea demanded the right to host some of the games' events and Seoul, attempting to stave off a threatened Communist boycott, agreed reluctantly to discuss some sort of sharing, under International Olympic Committee auspices.

With Pyongyang now openly suspected of Sunday's plane attack, opinions are hardening further here.

A Seoul Olympic Committee said yesterday that if North Korea's guilt were confirmed, the IOC talks would be terminated.

"If it is proved that the North engineered a terrorist attack against the plane, it is totally inconceivable for us to continue Olympic talks," said a spokesman. (AFP, Reuters)



The Japanese TV station NHK yesterday broadcast the photographs of the couple suspected of being involved in the possible sabotage of a Korean Airlines jetliner. They used the names of Shinichi Hachiya, left, and Mayumi Hachiya in their forged passports. (AFP)

Sihanouk says Vietnam ready to leave Kampuchea

FERE-EN-TARDENOIS, France (Reuters). — Exiled Kampuchean leader Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who is holding peace talks at a French hotel here with his rivals, said yesterday that Vietnam was ready to withdraw from Kampuchea early as next year if the country's warring factions patched up their differences.

Sihanouk said that Phnom Penh's Vietnamese-backed prime minister Hun Sen had pledged Hanoi would pull out its estimated 140,000 men as soon as opposition guerrilla forces were reconciled with Kampuchea's current rulers.

Hun Sen arrived punctually at 10 a.m. for the second day of an historic round of talks with the former monarch of Cambodia — now Kampuchea. The meeting in a luxury chateau hotel outside a small Eastern French town is seen as a major breakthrough in years of efforts to end the bloody Kampuchean civil war.

The 65-year-old Sihanouk, who in various capacities ruled the now impoverished nation of six million for 30 years until a 1970 coup, released a handwritten statement in French summing up the first day of talks.

He quoted Hun Sen as saying: "If we Khmers reach a national reconciliation, resolving the Kampuchean problem before 1990, that is in 1988 or 1989, then the total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia will be carried out *pro facto* the same year, that is in 1988 or 1989."

The 36-year-old leader of the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK), which was installed by Vietnam in 1979, had extended his personal assurance that Hanoi was committed to total withdrawal, Sihanouk said.

The prince added in a separate statement that he had warned Hun Sen that Sihanouk's guerrillas along the Thai border would continue to battle Hanoi's army "until the last Vietnamese soldier leaves Cambodia."

Sihanouk also said he had rejected an offer from Phnom Penh to return to a high government post.

"I would rather die in Peking or Pyongyang (North Korea) than be a puppet president in Phnom Penh, a stooge of Hanoi," he said.

He was willing, on the other hand, to return as the head of a new Cambodian state, he said, run by a government made up of his three-sided opposition alliance and the PRK.

Hun Sen had said his pro-Communist group was forced to call on help from Hanoi after hundreds of thousands of killings under the four-

Cairo weekly calls for probe of Nasser's son's role in terror killings

Post Middle East Staff and agencies

An Egyptian government-owned magazine has called for the late president Gamal Abdel Nasser's son Khaled to return home for questioning about his alleged involvement in the killings of two Israelis, Albert Atrakchi and Evi Tal-Or.

Makram Mohammed Ahmed, editor of the prestigious *Al-Mussawwar* weekly and a close friend of President Hosni Mubarak, broke weeks of Egyptian press silence on the sensitive issue in his call for "one of Nasser's sons" to come home.

Khaled is believed to be involved with the clandestine Nasserite group "Egypt Revolution" which has claimed credit for killing the two Israelis and also for attacking U.S. officials in Cairo.

Khaled, a businessman, was reported by diplomats to be living in Yugoslavia after being allowed to slip out of Egypt recently with his family.

The prosecution imposed a news blackout on an inquiry into the killings in September after press reports that arrests had been made.

Egypt's Revolution claimed responsibility for the August, 1985 murder of Israeli attaché Atrakchi and the April 1986 murder of Tal-Or at the Cairo Trade Fair. The group also claimed responsibility for the wounding of two U.S. Embassy security officials as they drove to work last May.

"The tragedy in the case is that all the accused are Egyptians and accusations point to one of Nasser's sons who had a role, the least of which could be complicity, if not being an accessory after the fact," wrote Ahmed in this week's *Al-Mussawwar*.

"It seems some members of Nasser's family believe that Nasserism can be inherited by his sons... We expect the prosecution to order the arrest and the extradition of the accused if charges reveal that he (Nasser's son) knew those whom he met several times were culprits," Ahmed said.

Government handling of the case is especially sensitive because of the prestige of the late Nasser, who led the 1952 army overthrow of Egypt's monarchy and is still a nationalist hero to many Arabs 17 years after his death.

Bringing allegations against Nasser's son also could prove embarrassing for the Mubarak regime.

The revelations could also be a setback to Nasserites who have been pressing to establish a legal political party in Egypt.

On the other hand, despite the problems associated with bringing charges against Nasser's son, the discovery of a terrorist group is viewed as a serious matter by Egyptian officials.

Thus, the revelations in the weekly can be interpreted as the beginning of an attempt to mobilize public opinion against the illegal activities of the Nasserites.

Ahmed wrote said it was not in Egypt's interests to conceal crimes committed even by a son of a former president and he appealed to members of Nasser's family "to bring the absent son back from exile to testify before the prosecution."



Pope John Paul II warmly welcomes the ecumenical patriarch of the Eastern Orthodox Church, Archbishop of Constantinople Dimitrios I, on his arrival to the Vatican yesterday for a five-day visit. The trip is seen as a new major step in the rapprochement between the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic churches which began with the Vatican II Council in the 1960s and has been strongly encouraged by the present pontiff. The two churches had been at odds since a schism in 1054. It also comes after a historic visit to Moscow by Archbishop Dimitrios last August. (Reuters)

Romanian officials fired after riots

PARIS (AFP). — Communist Party leaders in Brasov, the Romanian city rocked by riots last month, have been dismissed along with the top management of the factory where the disturbances started, the official Agerpress news agency has reported on confirming the riots for the first time.

Agerpress said that an assembly of workers representatives had also decided to sack all those who had provoked the disturbances and to press charges against those "directly responsible."

Two policemen were reportedly killed in the November 15 riots, following clashes between police and up to 20,000 people after angry workers demonstrated against food shortages and lack of pay.

Agerpress reported in length on the meeting of representatives of the truck-factory workers. The factory's general manager, his deputies, the head of the workers' council and other officials were dismissed for "serious flaws" and for failing to "accomplish their mission."

The rioting at Brasov, Romania's second largest city, located 140 kilometers north of Bucharest, is believed to have been the worst outbreak of violence against the regime of President Nicolae Ceausescu in at least a decade.

Panama expels U.S. aid mission

WASHINGTON (AP). — Panama has ordered the U.S. foreign aid mission to leave the country, the State Department said.

A department press officer said Panamanian authorities informed U.S. embassy officials on Wednesday night that the action was being taken in response to the U.S. suspension of economic and military assistance earlier this year.

The suspension was ordered after U.S. Embassy buildings were damaged in anti-American demonstrations.

The Agency for International Development, which administers U.S. foreign aid abroad, had planned an \$8 million assistance programme to private organizations in Panama in 1988.

IN BRIEF

THE SOVIET Communist Party daily *Pravda* said yesterday that U.S. vice president George Bush was "perhaps" the only "good" Republican candidate in next year's election race. The party organ denied intentions of meddling with what it calls an "important internal process," but added that "major international problems cannot be looked at through the prism of primary election campaigns."

INDIAN scientists think cashew nuts belong in orbit. The minister of state for science and technology told parliament a heat-resistant resin, based on liquid extracted from cashew nut shells, can be used as a heat shield for spacecraft. He said the resin was developed by the regional research laboratory in the southern state of Kerala, India's largest cashew nut producer.

TWENTY-SIX Moroccan soldiers, including the regiment's commander, captured in fighting in the Western Sahara last month, were shown to local and foreign journalists by the Algerian-backed Polisario guerrillas. The parade took place in an unnamed part of the desert territory, where the guerrillas have been fighting a 12-year-old separatist war with Morocco.

THE 19TH GAME of the World Chess Championship between Soviet grandmasters Garry Kasparov and Anatoly Karpov in Seville, Spain ended yesterday in a draw after 62 moves, with the score standing at 9.5-9.5. In the event of a 12-12 tie, Kasparov will retain his title until the next championship final in 1990. The 20th game will continue today.

SOCCER STAR Diego Maradona has lost his legal battle to have a paternity suit against him thrown out of court. The Naples court of appeal decided yesterday that there was enough evidence for the case to be heard. Cristiana Sinagra claims that after a short affair with the Argentinian she had a son last year and wants Maradona to pay maintenance.

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The Karens -- fighting a bitter war of independence

BANGKOK. — Friday, November 13, was certainly the blackest day of 23-year-old Aik Hner's life. It was the day he stepped on a mine and blew his foot off.

Aik Hner comes from Naawn, a village in the Karens state of Burma, just four hours walk from the Thai border.

The four million Karen have been fighting a war of independence for the last 40 years ever since the British left in 1948.

Aik Hner is a farmer and has lived with sporadic war all his life.

The previous day, November 12, a large force of Burmese soldiers had attacked Naawn and razed it, the second time this year the village has been burned to the ground. This time not even the Buddhist monastery was spared.

Aware that the Burmese army was moving against them and knowing that they were badly outnumbered, 200 villagers and the 200 Karen soldiers based there evacuated the village.

Many of them immediately made their way to Thailand, a traditional sanctuary for refugees whether they be Lao, Khmer or Karen hilltribes.

Aik Hner was not so lucky. Separated from his father he hid in the forest. When the Burmese soldiers left he returned to Naawn to look for his father when a mine exploded under him, severing his left foot. He was carried on a bamboo stretcher to the Thai town of Mae Hong Son, a journey of two days by foot.

The raid was a punishment for the 25 Burmese soldiers killed at the military outpost of Tatawman on November 1.

The Burmese soldiers were killed by the National Democratic Front (NDF) a coalition of hill tribes and ethnic groups, some of whom, like the Karens, have been fighting for independence since 1948. The NDF, formed in 1976, brings together nine different ethnic groups all fighting for independence from the Burmese.

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NEW YORK (Reuters). — The earliest surviving version of Einstein's Theory of Relativity was sold at auction at Sotheby's on Wednesday for \$1,155,000, the highest price ever paid for a manuscript in America.

The 72-page handwritten manuscript was written in 1912 and lists his famous E = mc² equation (energy equals mass times the velocity of light squared, which became the

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ENGLISH TRUST

The sad story of the uprooted olive trees

This story began about olive trees, passed through a Latin American novel, got lost in a maze of bureaucracies, and ended up with an unexpected irony. Most of all it's about the daily tragedy of assumptions made too easily by all types. Jewish or Arab, liberal or conservative, cunning or naive, about each other. In short, it's about Israel nowadays.

Recently, dozens of olive trees were planted on the median strip and along the side of the Haifa Road highway between the Yarkon Bridge and the Country Club.

Of itself, the combination of the already existing palm trees and the new olive trees makes the northern approach to Tel Aviv far more attractive than the approach from the east, which is landscaped by the Massada-shaped Hiriya garbage dump.

The problem was the timing of the trees' arrival, coinciding with the uprooting of some 1,400 olive trees from disputed land owned by the Israel Lands Authority and used by a Negev Beduin clan. The timing of the Tel Aviv planting made the landscaping as smelly as Hiriya.

The six-year court struggle between the al-Nassarah clan and the Israel Lands Authority, over the use of 40 dunams on which the Beduin had planted their olive trees, had never seemed very logical. Lagiya is a pretty desolate place, which might be best described as being in the middle of nowhere.

It's not as if the olive trees were in the way of a highway, or a new settlement, or a housing project.

The court dispute had all the elements of a Latin American novel about clashes between relatively powerless provincials, incompetent at dealing with the state's bureaucratic machinery, and that bureau-

cracy's insistence on proving its power.

By the time the six years of litigation were over, on the eve of the olive trees' first fruit-bearing season, the argument between the Lagiya Beduin and the ILA over a windswept plateau had turned into a tragedy about pride and dignity.

Tel Aviv Tel Aviv
Robert Rosenberg

self-respect and nationalism.

In mid-October, when spokesmen from the Israel Lands Authority and the Nature Reserve Authority and the Green Patrol had not been able to explain why they couldn't reach an accommodation with the Beduin, they proudly announced that the trees would be replanted elsewhere.

Not that there's anything wrong with replanting olive trees that were uprooted because a road was being widened, or a housing project was going up.

Uprooting them from the middle of the desert may be pushing state authority a little too far, but it was the seeming combination of uprooting them and then replanting them in north Tel Aviv that seemed like dancing on a grave.

It took about 30 phone calls to sources who refused to be identified and were unable to provide answers, and to official spokesmen from five agencies who often contradicted each other, to find out where Tel Aviv got its trees and what happened to the Lagiya trees.

The details of that bureaucratic maze are irrelevant. What is not irrelevant is that some sources who refused to be identified, when asked

about the origins of the Tel Aviv trees, volunteered without being asked that the trees were not from Lagiya. One source indicated that they might be and then said, "And so what?"

It also should be reported that at one point the Israel Lands Authority said it gave the Lagiya trees to the JNF, and the JNF said it never got them from the ILA.

In the end, despite at least one source bluntly stating that it would be impossible to find out where the Lagiya trees went and where each and every one of the Tel Aviv trees came from, the answers were simple.

The Lagiya trees, said Nature Reserve Authority spokeswoman Yael Shoham, are in the Gilat nursery, not far from Mishmar Hanegbe, awaiting replanting elsewhere.

The Jewish National Fund owns the nursery, she said, and according to various JNF sources and spokesmen, either the JNF decides where to plant uprooted trees or the Israel Lands Authority makes the determination.

In either case, the JNF will do the replanting — in public parks, along highways, in army camps, and presumably wherever olive trees would be nice in the public domain. "It's policy and we're proud of it, just like we're proud of our policy not to uproot trees," said one source.

Shmuel Shoham may or may not be related to Yael Shoham. But he is the man in charge of Tel Aviv landscaping and when he finally got on the line, he had what he called "the sad story" of where Tel Aviv got the olive trees.

"It has nothing to do with Beduin," he began.

"It has to do with Jews. Jews in the Galilee are uprooting olive trees. That's right," he said, "you



heard me. Uprooting trees because it's not worth their while to grow them anymore for the olive oil they can produce.

"So they dig them up and sell these 15-year-old trees to Arabs from Samaria. And next year those same Arabs will say the trees have been in the family for generations."

"For me, that's a sad story. For me, that's a story that should make the bleeding heart liberals cry. But it doesn't. They cry about the Beduin."

"There are kibbutzim that are in such bad shape that they're selling their olive trees. For me, that's a tragedy. But who cares? The state? Where's the state? What's the state? The people?" and in his voice once could hear something more than

disappointment.

It was as if while he was speaking he were looking out his City Hall window seeing everything he had never wanted to see in his Land of Israel.

He didn't say anything about Arabs who are also digging up olive trees, unable to make a living from producing the oil.

Tel Aviv paid NIS 200 shekel a piece for the dozens of 15-year-old olive trees planted between the Yarkon River Bridge and the Country Club. The payment covers the costs of transport, planting, and maintenance for a year.

The contractor who won the Tel Aviv City Hall olive tree tender, is a Jew, from a Galilee moshav. Arabs, of course, do the labour.

Powdered soup, milkshake mixes

Concern over safety of Cambridge Diet promoted in Israel

By JUDY SIEGEL
in Jerusalem
and DAVID HOROVITZ
in London

Nutritionists and government health officials throughout Europe and the U.S. are worried about the safety of the Cambridge Diet, particularly the 330-calorie-a-day version that is being promoted in a number of countries including Israel.

A leading Israeli medical expert on nutrition and the treatment of obesity told *The Jerusalem Post* he recommends that no one go on the Cambridge Diet unless it is done under his doctor's supervision and that it be followed for no more than two months at a time. If not, said the expert (who preferred not to be quoted by name), the small amount of protein contained in 330-calories-worth of food a day could cause the heart to lose protein and result in arrhythmia (irregular beating of the heart) and "even sudden death."

The diet consists of powdered soup and milkshake mixes in various flavours, to which water is added. Dieters are told to eat three mixes per day — and nothing else, except a mandatory eight to 10 glasses of water — and are promised that they will lose "up to five kilos during the first week" and many more as time passes. The mixes cost NIS 65 a week for the prescribed regimen.

In the U.S., the family of one Cambridge dieter, 31-year-old Kathleen Tiernan who allegedly died after 51 days of eating only the mixes, sued the American manufacturer and is said to have received an out-of-court settlement of \$500,000. The family of another dieter who died, Belinda Hughes, are also taking the company to court.

But the Health Ministry declined to comment on the diet, as it is official policy to regard diet preparations as "food" and not as "medicine."

Dr. Alma Avni, head of the ministry's Department of Public Health, told *The Post* that she has not heard reports from abroad that the Cambridge Diet has caused deaths, but that she personally believes that those who follow such "extremely low calorie diets should be warned about the need for a doctor's supervision." She will ask Director-General Prof. Yoram Lass to reconsider the ministry's policy of not commenting on such diets.

Dr. Yoram Blachar, who works in the pediatrics department at Kaplan Hospital in Rehovot and is "medical adviser" of Medplan Health Consultants Ltd. in Tel Aviv — which imports the Cambridge Diet products from England — said he is "not at all worried about the possibility of health damage or death from following the diet. There is no danger."

Dr. Blachar said that most of the Medplan "consultants" who distribute the specially-prepared, low-calorie milkshake and soup mixes are

"doctors, nurses or dietitians. Those who are not professionals undergo a training course of a half day to learn the principles of the diet. All potential customers are asked to fill out a personal medical report before buying the products."

The consultants are told not to sell it to pregnant or lactating women, people who have had a coronary infarction (heart attack) in recent months, diabetics and others with chronic conditions.

The diet was developed in Cambridge by Dr. Alan Howard, and has been used by millions worldwide. Howard calls the diet the "safe, effective, perfect diet." In 1980, marketing began in the U.S., and in 1982, after reports of deaths resulting from following the strict regimen, the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) stopped all sales.

Dr. Blachar declares that "no connection was found between even a single death and the diet, and the FDA withdrew its ban." However, FDA spokesman Victor Fratelli, commenting on the death of six persons on the diet, would not discount the regimen as "a factor in more than one of the deaths."

Dr. Blachar said Medplan "consultants" give written and oral instructions to purchasers to follow the diet for only up to a month at a time. They then "rest" for a week or two, during which they eat regular food prepared according to Cambridge Diet recipes, but not including the powdered mixes. They then can return to the mix regimen for another attempt to lose weight. He concedes that during the first week, most of the loss weight is fluids excreted by the body, but "after that, fat is lost. Some people have lost as much as 19 kilos in a month."

Although insisting that the change is unconnected with any medical dangers, Medplan is now recommending a 630-calorie-a-day diet. Dr. Blachar says that this can be accomplished by adding low-fat milk to the mixes, including the soups, instead of water.

The mixes, he says, do not yet have kosher certificates, "but we are in the final stages of obtaining them." Medplan will soon run an advertising campaign to explain the change for those who want more calories.

A similar low-calorie diet called Nutril, certified kosher by the Chief Rabbi of Netanya and marketed in Israel even before the Cambridge Diet, also involves the intake of 330 calories a day.

A nutrition and obesity expert told *The Post* that he knew of another diet product, Optifast, which requires customers to join groups run by physicians; thus moderating the health danger posed by non-supervision. He said that he wishes that a doctor's supervision and a two-month-at-a-time limit were strictly enforced for those following the Cambridge or Nutril diets.

Parents of 2 slain Bir Zeit students petition High Court

By JOEL GREENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The High Court of Justice is preparing to hear a petition against Defense Minister Rabin and the West Bank military commander filed by parents of two Bir Zeit University students killed a year ago today when troops opened fire during a violent campus demonstration.

The petition, which demands a full inquiry into the shootings, was referred this week to the attorney general for an opinion, and will be heard by a three-man tribunal.

The petition was submitted by attorney Felicia Langer on behalf of the parents of Saeb Dahab, 23, and Jawad Abu Samiyeh, 21, who were killed on December 4, 1986.

Citing eyewitness accounts by fac-

ulty members at Bir Zeit, the petitioners charge that the two students were deliberately shot after they had retreated into the campus, when there was no stone-throwing or confrontation with the troops, and when the soldiers were not in a life-threatening situation.

The petitioners charge that troops delayed evacuation of the wounded students, demanding identification even though the students were in critical condition, and preventing the entry of vehicles to the campus. This action "hastened the death" of the students, the petition states.

The students' parents also demand that they be given the reports of the autopsies conducted on their children, with a statement of the cause of death.

The petition states that in a letter to Langer in April, Rabin reported that a "comprehensive and thorough" investigation by the Military Police showed that troops at the scene acted properly, and that the Central Command judge-advocate general had ordered the case closed with no legal action taken against soldiers involved.

Langer argues that the Military Police investigation was "not an investigation," since it ignored eyewitness accounts she submitted, and failed to call any of the eyewitnesses to give evidence.

Rain expected today, tomorrow

No water problem despite dry spell

By JONATHAN KARP
For The Jerusalem Post

TEL AVIV. — The rain that is forecast for today and tomorrow will fall on fields parched from a hot, three-week dry spell. But though the country's farms are consuming almost as much irrigation water as they do in summer, there is still no danger to the country's water supply, agriculture and water officials insisted yesterday.

Gideon Tsur, deputy water commissioner, said that the levels of the Kinneret and the coastal aquifers, the two primary indicators, were within the normal range for this time of year.

"There are two aspects to the issue," Tsur said. "The overall water supply, which is fine because we started the season with relatively higher reserves than in previous years, and agriculture, which could face difficulties if it does not rain for another week or two."

Mordechai Ya'acobyvitch, spokesman for Mekorot, the national water company, said that while farmers were drawing large quantities of water for irrigation because of the long dry spell, "there's no reason to worry yet. It's only the beginning of December and there will definitely be rain between now and March."

The Meteorological Service yesterday forecast "good chances" for rain tomorrow, but similar predictions two weeks ago proved wrong. The dry spell that began on November 7 may last a little longer, a duty weather forecaster admitted.

Likewise, she was uncertain about the future of the heat wave which has beset the country since the middle of last month. Temperatures have been seven degrees higher than average in the Negev and Arava and four degrees higher in the mountains, making this the hottest November in six years.

But, she noted, Israel had sustained "November dry spells" of two weeks or longer four times in the past decade. During two of those years, 1977 and 1980, no rain fell for 40 days, throughout November and more.

The rain that fell in the first week of November delivered about 35 per cent of the monthly average in the north, and between 5-20 per cent in the rest of the country. Since the beginning of the rainy season through to the end of November, most of the country received between 50-80 per cent of the seasonal average.

By this time last year the country had received 60 per cent of its average annual rainfall, but that merely indicates monthly rainfall patterns can change without affecting the overall yield, she said.

This winter, we will have to hope that the rain will catch up, she said. Overall, the country has had only 10-15 per cent of the average annual rainfall, half of it in one day of downpour on October 17. The areas hardest hit at that time, the Jordan Valley, the Hebron hills, the southern coastal plain and the Negev, have already been saturated beyond their yearly averages.

"We have had years like this before; there's still time," Tsur observed. He said that there were no signs of a decline in the levels of the reserves and thus no plans to lower the current quotas for water usage quotas set last April.

Raya now archbishop of S. Lebanon

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER

HAIFA. — Yusef Raya, the former Greek Catholic archbishop of Haifa and Galilee, who was replaced and "exiled" by the Patriarch Maximos Hakim in 1975, has been given another diocese.

The Jerusalem Post learned that Raya was recently appointed Archbishop of Marjayoun and Southern Lebanon, to succeed Archbishop Nicola Haj, who has retired.

Raya held the Haifa post for a decade but aroused the ire of his superiors in Damascus through his support for Israel, while his aggressive fight for the return of the displaced villagers of Ikrat and Birim rubbed the Israeli authorities the wrong way.

During his term of office here he introduced prayers in Hebrew, and

publicly supported Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, "because it's the only Holy City the Jews have." During the Yom Kippur war he volunteered his personal services "even as a road sweeper" to replace the men called to active duty, and encouraged members of his community to volunteer.

His activities had angered Patriarch Maximos Hakim, who had been his predecessor in the Haifa and Galilee post. The final straw was when Raya turned over church lands to the poor Moslem sharecroppers of the Lower Galilee village of Daiburiya.

He was stripped of his office and sent to a Greek Catholic seminary in Canada, where he taught and instructed novices, remaining in exile until his recent appointment.

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Conservative leader raps 'Who's a Jew' amendment

By ASHER WALLFISH

Prof. Issar Schorsch, president of the U.S. Jewish Conservative movement, yesterday accused the advocates of the "Who is a Jew" amendment of "turning the State of Israel into a growing divisive force within World Jewry."

At a meeting in the Knesset with representatives of five factions, Schorsch said the proposed amendment to the Law of Return was an attempt to create two classes of the Jewish people — "the good Jews and the bad Jews."

This amendment, tabled by the Orthodox factions and backed consistently by the Likud, would specify that conversions to Judaism are valid for the purposes of the Law of Return only if they are conducted according to Halacha, the Orthodox code of law. The Law of Return lays down the right of every Jew to settle in Israel.

Schorsch said: "Once the State of Israel symbolized the unity of the Jewish people. Now, because of the 'Who is a Jew' campaign, it stands for extremism and fragmentation."

He added: "You should be aware as MKs that U.S. Jewry is in a ferment about this campaign after years of apathy, and the U.S. Zionist movement, once an antiquated vehicle, is today galvanized because of the 'Who is a Jew' proposal."

Schorsch, who heads a delegation of 22 attending the World Zionist Congress, represents 1.5 million U.S. congregants.

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The threat of low-tech terror

THE PALESTINIAN terrorist who hang-glided into Galilee last week and struck with such devastating effect at an IDF base near Kiryat Shmona has sounded alarm bells in defence ministries around the world, where uncomfortable questions are already being asked about the worth of super-sophisticated defence devices.

Few borders can be as closely monitored as the one we share with Lebanon. It fairly bristles with sensors and snipers developed by the best minds in the nation's \$1 billion-plus military research and development industry.

So how is it that a lone gunman carrying a few grenades and an automatic weapon that hasn't changed much since World War II managed to penetrate our borders on a flimsy wood and canvas flying machine powered by the noisy equivalent of a lawn mower engine?

We are not the only ones asking such questions. Around the globe, governments and military leaders are puzzling over how to cope with the challenge of so-called low-technology assaults by determined intruders.

Bernard Josephs

A recent survey by Reuters, the international news agency, quoted a Western diplomat who said: "It's the year of David and Goliath. Young men with equipment you can assemble at home or buy at the corner shop have humbled the big powers."

IT CERTAINLY seems that way. Last May, for instance, a West German flying enthusiast, who took the Kremlin to its foundations when he exposed an awesome gap in Moscow's air defences by taking off from Finland in a light plane and landing unscathed in Red Square.

In Britain, the IRA have caused massive bloodshed by using bombs described by intelligence sources in London as "crude but very, very effective." And in the Gulf, Western shipping has been threatened not only by French-produced Exocet missiles but also by Russian mines of World War I vintage.

According to Reuters, the Pentagon has taken careful note of such developments. With explosives-packed Iranian speedboats threatening the might of the U.S. Navy and land-based terrorists mocking powerful security networks, the Americans have set up a special command centre to tackle the problem.

Low-intensity conflict, as he described it, could be the biggest challenge faced by the U.S. forces in the near future, said Secretary of State George Shultz. "The future of peace

and security may well depend on how effectively we deal with it."

In Israel, many experts tend to agree with Shultz, though some cautioned that the carnage caused by Abu Nidal's deadly emissary at Kiryat Shmona probably had more to do with human failure than technical foul-ups.

While an enemy using imagination and little else is likely to score the occasional success against the best that defence and weapons technology can throw at him, there is no doubt that electronic wizardry has done much to make life safer for those living on the front line, said Professor Yehzekiel Dror, head of the Hebrew University's Centre for Security Studies.

"When you build up an extensive system to protect yourself against attack, there is no doubt that you leave small holes," he said. "No matter how advanced the equipment, you can't build a water-tight system and you can't totally seal a border."

Military technologists, he continued, had to concentrate on combat-

ing the main dangers and so a novel method of infiltration must stand a chance of success. "The rule in technology is that if something can go wrong it probably will, whether through human failure or by a failure in the system. There is also a danger of becoming over-complex — though I don't think we have reached that point yet."

Former IDF brigadier general Aharon Levran, now a respected military analyst at Tel Aviv University's Jaffee Institute for Strategic Studies, said he too was certain that in some cases sophisticated defensive set-ups were bound to be overcome by attackers using simple equipment. "This is a universal and recognized truth," he said.

"The advantage is with the attacker, and it is always possible that he will do something to surprise and sting you. However, we must draw a line between such tragic incidents as the attack at the Army base and the general security picture in the area."

"There is no doubt that the overall situation has improved since the IDF withdrew from Lebanon. There have been several attempts to break through with hang gliders. This one succeeded, but others have failed. The important thing to remember is that no matter how much hi-tech you surround yourself with, there is no fool-proof system."

ANOTHER Jaffee Institute expert, Dr. Ariel Merari, who enjoys a world-wide reputation as an expert on terrorism, declared that the time had come to think again about investing more funds in equipment. The return on such an investment, he said, would at best be marginal.

"Of course technology has a place in combating terror," continued Merari. "It has managed to reduce some types of attacks, but at the most it can simply channel the violence. For instance, today most terrorists cannot penetrate embassies. Such buildings are virtually impenetrable. So they opt for softer targets."

Take, for example, airline hijackings. Electronic surveillance has managed to sharply reduce the number of hijackings that take place against a criminal background. But with a few exceptions, such as EL AL, airlines are as vulnerable today as they ever were to terrorist hijacking. Terrorists are able to overcome the defensive technology."

The answer, said the expert, was not more or better technology but investment in the "human aspect" — intelligence work and a firmer attitude towards terrorists when they are caught.

The return on such an investment would be much bigger than in spending millions of dollars on ever-more-sophisticated hi-tech trickery.

Three Post reporters consider the implications of the glider attack

The question of retaliation



Ahmed Jibril

Herish Goodman

given situation, where it is in Israel's clear interest to keep the northern front stable and not risk a war with Syria that would serve little purpose other than to undermine the economic and strategic stability this country is now enjoying.

The risk of escalation is real, even if Israel were to limit its strike against Jibril's bases in the Bekaa. To do this, Israeli aircraft would have to enter the protective envelope of the array of Syrian anti-aircraft missiles deployed on the Syrian-Lebanese border — missiles the Syrians can be assumed ready to use in protecting their surrogate from Israeli attack.

That must be the assumption of any prudent military planner, with the range of consequences clearly understood.

THERE ARE TWO separate issues that have to be considered: containing and punishing Jibril; and potential confrontation with the Syrians.

The most effective response to Jibril is probably the response we will never hear about — the war in the shadows that, if we are to believe the military's statistics, has thus far succeeded in precluding 99 per cent of all attacks from the north before they are launched.

By working quietly and consistently, by dictating both the means and the place of confrontation, by improving defensive measures, Israel can achieve as much by this method — if not more — as by random bombardment that risks aircraft and crew, as well as international condemnation and our relations with the Druze and Shites in the eastern sector of southern Lebanon.

The risk of confrontation with the Syrians, though possible, is not to be considered inevitable. While President Assad will certainly be under pressure to use his missiles in protecting Jibril should Israel indeed attack in the Bekaa, he would have good reason to hesitate.

Just as Israel has no way of predicting the end result of a sequence of events over which it has little control should Assad decide on confrontation, so Assad has little control over what Israel may do. He has to take into account that Israel may want to use this opportunity to settle other accounts.

ASSAD IS AT the weakest point of his career. His obstinate support for Iran, notwithstanding the current attempts by Jordan's King Hussein to mend the rift between Syria and Iraq, has kept him isolated in the Arab world. Arab aid has dried up and Syria's economy is in well-documented turmoil, with reports of unrest in the population increasing daily.

Internal instability has been further fostered by political ferment, as demonstrated by Assad's dismissal of almost his entire cabinet last

month, and the lack of clarity regarding a successor who would satisfy both the Alawite minority and the rest of Syria's power structure.

Furthermore, Assad is in a cloudy position vis-a-vis the new regime in the USSR. Given the Gorbachev regime's clear policy of limiting regional conflicts so as not to disrupt the wider goals of Soviet policy toward the West, it seems highly unlikely that Assad could count on Soviet support — either diplomatic or military — if he were to initiate a conflict with Israel at this time. The Soviets have also curtailed the quantity and quality of arms shipments to Syria in recent months, leaving some serious holes in Syria's defences, especially in terms of ground-to-ground and ground-to-air rocketry and the air force.

The Syrian army, according to the experts, is also at a low point. New equipment, ordered in the aftermath of the 1982 Lebanon war and Assad's quest for strategic parity, remains unopened, and economic realities have severely curtailed the army's expansion and training programmes.

Assad's forces are, moreover, deployed along a wide front, from the Golan through the Lebanese and Iraqi borders, with some of his best divisions being stationed in Lebanon. Also, the chances of Syria's being able to count on supplementary Arab military support, especially if the conflict with Israel were limited and quick, are negligible, given the Iraq-Iran war and the ascendancy of the moderate Arab wing in recent months.

The FACTORS to be taken into consideration are many. While logic would indicate that the chances of Syria's risking confrontation with Israel over an Israeli retaliatory raid in the Bekaa are extremely low, the possibility remains.

Whether Israel should take a chance is a direct function of the benefits to be gained from the attack. If, by attacking Jibril in the Bekaa, one could deal a severe blow to his organization, the risk might be worthwhile; if, on the other hand, however, such a raid would achieve little beyond satisfying the demands of the Israeli public for retribution, it would not be worth taking.

When they fingered Syria, Israel's leaders were leaving their options open. That a week has passed with no overt sign of retaliation is not to be interpreted as meaning that retaliation will not come. That they have so far limited their response to verbal warnings is not to assume that the message will end with words alone.

A bonanza for Syria's President Assad

Elaine Ruth Fletcher

has been Syria's policy for a long time. In this incident, however, Assad probably had specific diplomatic or military gains in mind. Most likely, Assad authorized the action with the belief that it would help him regain prestige lost in Amman, but he may also have been seeking to provoke Israel into some kind of a military confrontation, says Maoz.

"He may want to provoke us. Then he would be on the defensive, and could mobilize Arab support, Soviet support, to repulse Israel," continued Maoz. "He's not prepared to go for a full-scale operation against Israel, by himself. But if it's a limited operation it would help him regain lost prestige in the Arab world, inflict some losses on Israel and maybe take the Golan back."

A third possibility is that Assad didn't have any control over the operation at all. But Maoz doesn't see this as "logical." Assad, despite his own personal history of health problems, and a chronically depressed economy, appears to be in full control in Damascus.

"Jibril would have to get some sort of approval for this sort of operation. Assad must have known about it. And I think Assad is interested in details too," said Maoz.

Whether or not Assad was deliberately trying to provoke Israel, switched their activities from Europe back to Lebanon. But except for the professionalism and the daring and the novelty of the recent (glider plane) operation, there's nothing new or special about it."

"In fact I'm always puzzled and shocked when people ask what Assad's motives for such an attack could be," said Olmert. "He's done it for the last 20 years. Whenever he had a chance to attack, he did so. For the Syrians, terrorism is a sort of warfare."

Maoz hopes that the IDF won't retaliate against Syrian targets.

"It could escalate into a war," he said.

Nevertheless, Syrian forces have been put on alert for such a possible attack. And officials at the Syrian Embassy in Paris even told visiting Arab newspaper editors this week that an Israeli attack on Syrian targets was "expected at any moment."

Said Olmert: "I don't think there will be a strong Israeli response. And I don't think it will be targeted against Syria proper. It might be Syrian targets or pro-Syrian targets in Lebanon. But I don't think there's an interest in having a major clash at the moment."

Assad is probably "banking on the assumption that Israel is not all that eager to escalate tension," observed Rabinovich. "For a long time, Syria has had a technique whereby they gave semi-endorsement to attacks against Israel by Palestinians and, later, by Shi'ites in Lebanon," said Rabinovich. "They get the credit from Arab nationalists

yet, at the same time, they do not bear full responsibility, nor expose themselves to Israeli retaliation."

The fact that Egypt joined the chorus of Arab nationalists praising the operation is also a by-product of the new alignments produced at the Amman conference, added Rabinovich.

"Apparently, some in Egypt feel the renewal of relations was a gesture on the part of the Arabs, and that Egypt must respond to it," he said. Repayment of the diplomatic debt, then, is taking the form of continued media attacks on Israel.

Olmert, however, sees the Egyptian attacks on Israel, which intensified just before the Amman conference, as part of a longer and potentially more dangerous trend.

"I'm terribly worried about what's going on with Egypt," Olmert said. "I understand that before Amman, they had to take a certain tone. Now some people say they have to attack Israel to get money from the Gulf states. Where will this end? I'm really worried because I want this peace to be preserved, and this could be the beginning of a build-up, of preparing the public for a change."



Shakmann

ans have recovered a great deal of their early enthusiasm about a dialogue with Syria," said Olmert. "Syria is still pursuing armed struggle via terrorism, and there's nothing new about it. They may have Assad has long had an interest in suicide operations as well, notes Maoz. As far back as the 1950s, when Assad was still an air force officer, he offered to establish a special unit of kamikaze suicide pilots to carry out operations against Israel.

Maoz agrees that "guerrilla" war

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THE ATTACK will also shatter the hope, prevalent in some American circles a few months ago, that Syria was adopting a warmer attitude towards the peace process and had toned down its support of terrorism following the embarrassing revelations that top Syrian officials were involved in Nezar Hindawi's attempts to blow up an El Al jet in London last year.

Britain broke diplomatic relations with Syria following the Hindawi affair and the U.S. recalled its ambassador, who was returned to Damascus only last September.

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On the eve of the Reagan-Gorbachev summit Jerusalem Post correspondents in Washington and Moscow set the scene for a meeting which has raised high expectations of an easing of global tensions and a fuller expression of 'glasnost'

TIGHTROPE TO THE SUMMIT

MOSCOW. — How will it play in Podolia? A question that hardly seemed worth asking when summits were planned in the past.

It would play the way the Soviet summiters directed that it play, and the audience would duly, dutifully, applaud.

Now, however, the domestic political impact in the USSR of the forthcoming summit seems more momentously significant than even the missile-dismantling agreement to be signed. And nowhere more so than here in Moscow itself, seat of the empire, core of the still-volatile, historic experiment.

However, if Gorbachev falters, if something goes wrong in Washington — then all the new-found warmth could quickly ebb away, leaving the capital and all the republics to face an endless winter in the

iron-cold grip of other, dour men. It is as though the entire nation, and indeed the world outside, is watching one man walk a tightrope. The frosty Moscow air is full of uncertainty and trepidation, scepticism and hope.

Scepticism, in the minds of tens of millions, is perhaps Gorbachev's greatest threat, greater even than the outright opposition to *glasnost* and *perestroika* among some of his colleagues in the leadership, greater than the deadening resistance to reform in the middle and upper reaches of the *nomenklatura*, the privileged bureaucracy that runs Russia.

"He needs the people," says a well-placed Westerner stationed in Moscow. "He needs the ordinary workers and peasants to press from below while he pushes down from

above, so to speak, to squeeze out the resistance."

But there is disaffection in the ranks of the proletariat. Too often one encounters apathy or downright hostility among ordinary Soviet people when the two buzz-words *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring) are mentioned. Two-and-a-half years of Gorbachev have not brought any improvement in living standards.

On the contrary, workers can actually find themselves bearing the cost of the reforms when their factory's shoddy product, hitherto marketed without question, is rejected by the new-fangled quality-controlers put in place under *perestroika*.

The intelligentsia revel in the unfettered flowering of drama, film, art and — above all — the media. Ordinary Muscovites, too, flock to

David Landau

the cinemas and theatres to see works which for years were banned. But it must be hard for most people to retain that same pitch of enthusiasm for *glasnost* while queuing in the cold for hours for a bagful of bruised tangerines.

Some long-time observers here have taken to dwelling on the Russian "mentality" to explain the sluggish pace of the reforms and the strength of the entrenched resistance. Centuries of despotic rule, they say, and especially the past seven decades of mass-regimentation, have purged the qualities of initiative and responsibility from the Russian's personality. He is conditioned to shun and avoid them. *Perestroika*

is predicated on the restoration of those qualities, and that must obviously take time.

In the meantime — and this is another of Gorbachev's many problems — the dislocations caused by *perestroika* in the normal, maddening, bureaucratic order of things is irritating and frustrating people. When you go to an office for the nth time to submit the nth form in pursuit of some relatively simple official transaction — you might find that your familiar official has been removed for graft or incompetence. While, in theory, that might be a cause of rejoicing, in practice, it means even more hassle for you.

UNCERTAINTY, then, fed by ambivalence, permeates the atmosphere here on the eve of the summit. It is the leitmotif of every

analysis and prognostication. To a remarkable degree, Mikhail Gorbachev appears to have put his future in the hands of Ronald Reagan.

Yet the success of *glasnost* and *perestroika* inside "the evil empire" is not necessarily an American interest, or is not necessarily perceived to be so by the present administration. Nor is the Great Communicator, however desperate his yearning for a resounding foreign policy success, disposed to be taken in by mere public relations sweet-talk, and the Russians know it.

Hence their avid concern to persuade the West that *glasnost* is not just a shift of gear, but a radical change of direction — abroad as well as at home. "We have a new view of world politics," a senior Soviet analyst assured this reporter.

The entire foreign policy machine has been mobilized to prepare for the summit, and the Russians stress their desire for dealings on regional issues as well as advancing towards strategic arms limitations and bringing new urgency and realism to the talks on conventional weapons in Europe.

First among the regional issues is Afghanistan. Every Soviet official on every possible occasion rehearses the line that "We have taken the political decision (to leave). What is left to discuss and decide is implementation." Gorbachev seems intent on using the opportunity of global horse-trading in Washington to expedite his extrication of Russia from a foreign intervention turned sour.

But there will be no sell-out, on any issue. Gorbachev made that plain enough in his NBC interview this week, and his lieutenants are ready to trot out the old-style rhetoric at the flick of a microphone switch.

At a major pre-summit press briefing here, senior aides assured newsmen of the following: The U.S.

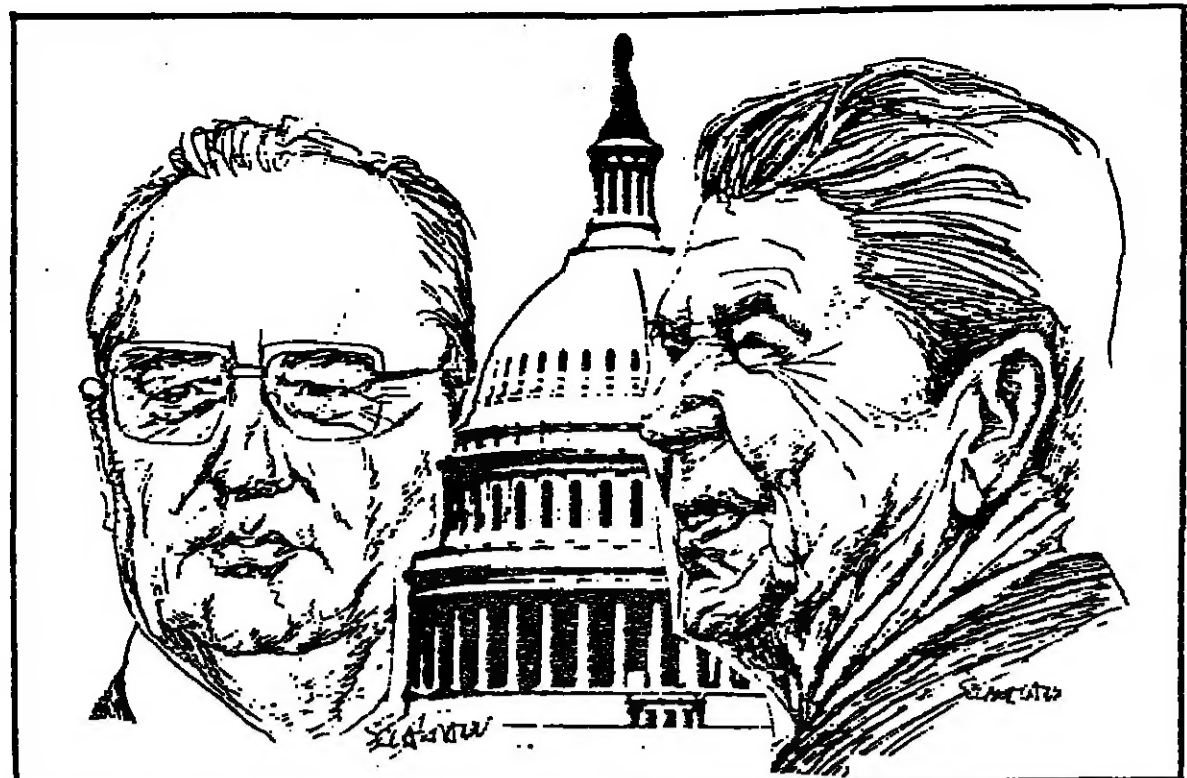
is preventing a solution in Afghanistan, and defying the UN Charter by intervening in Kabul's internal affairs through aid shipments via Pakistan; the Soviet Union's conventional superiority in Europe is a myth; the deployment of intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe was begun not by the USSR but by a NATO decision taken in 1967; the campaign in the U.S. on behalf of Soviet Jewry is part of a reactionary conspiracy to derail the accord on intermediate-range nuclear forces.

A smartly uniformed correspondent for the army newspaper, *Kad Star*, asked if the U.S. could be "trusted" — and this triggered a veritable diatribe from the desk. The Soviet Union needs no convincing that the world has to live without violence, said Valentin Falin, a top spokesman. "Unfortunately the U.S. is still in need of educating on this..." How much can we trust their signature, both before and after ratification by Congress? How far has the U.S. travelled on the road of realism?

Perhaps they feel that without such old-style tongue-lashings Russia's claim to a "new view of world politics" would not sound credible in the West. Perhaps the cold war verbiage is intended as a sop to the anti-Gorbachev hardliners in the Kremlin. Or perhaps old habits simply die hard.

Probably all these elements are at play in the swirling, eddying gusts that are sweeping Moscow. The summit, if it succeeds, will keep those winds blowing. How hard, for how long, and in what ultimate direction?

Neither of the two men who will face each other in the White House on Tuesday have the answers. Like the masses of Muscovites bundled up against the December chill, they grope hesitantly, hopefully, for a better future.



High hopes for Soviet Jewry

WASHINGTON. — President Ronald Reagan's long-awaited Washington summit with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has sparked some real excitement in the American Jewish community. There is a genuine sense that a significant, long-term improvement in the plight of Soviet Jewry can finally be achieved, and that American Jews can play an important role in that effort.

Indeed, there is today greater passion on this issue among American Jews than probably during any point since the 1974 enactment of the Jackson-Vanik "freedom of emigration" amendment, which directly linked U.S. trade concessions to Soviet emigration policies. "I haven't seen this kind of excitement for over a decade," said Jerry Goodman, the executive director of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry.

On the eve of the summit, Goodman and other Soviet Jewry activists in the U.S. said they do not expect any immediate change in the Soviet Union's practices towards its Jewish

citizens. What they do expect, however, is that Gorbachev will have no choice but to come away from the summit with a better and more deeply ingrained notion of exactly how important this issue has become for the United States.

Any improvement in U.S.-Soviet relations, Gorbachev will repeatedly be told in no uncertain terms, will require a more sensitive human-rights policy on the part of the Soviets.

INDEED, THE entire U.S. Senate — all 100 members, Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives — have already signed a letter to Gorbachev which makes this exact point. It will be published during the course of the summit.

"While we welcome your government's release of many highly visible dissidents and the increase in Jewish emigration during the past year,"

Wolf Blitzer

the senators wrote, "we remain cognizant of the fact that the Soviet Jewish minority, in particular, is still denied its basic human rights. Though many have emigrated, there are still countless others denied the right to leave; and those who choose to remain are denied the right to learn and practice their cultural and religious tradition openly."

The senators then made the direct connection between an improved Soviet attitude on this issue to a better overall relationship with the United States. "The Soviet Union is party to the Helsinki Accords and other international human rights agreements," they said. "Your adherence to these accords is important for the improving of relations between our two countries."

But as far as the Jewish question is concerned, Gorbachev's NBC News interview the other evening was a disappointment. The general secretary did not appear to address the question very seriously. The only Soviet citizens who are denied permission to leave, he insisted, are those who possess state security secrets.

But administration policymakers and American Jewish leaders are not necessarily taking that as Gorbachev's final stance. Why, they ask, would he make any major human-rights concessions in advance of the actual summit?

HOWEVER, U.S. officials and Jewish activists do expect that he will demonstrate a more forthcoming position in the aftermath of the talks next week.

Most specifically, the Americans want Gorbachev to establish an acceptable mechanism in Moscow to deal with the Soviet Jewish question. U.S. officials refer to this as a "regularization" process.

"It would be very well for us to hear, for instance, that there had been a time limit set for how long access to state secrets can remain a grounds for refusal of departure

from the Soviet Union," an administration official said.

Thus, the immediate focus should be on emigration, although a greater freedom to practise Judaism and study Hebrew should be made available to those Soviet Jews who remain behind. There should be a central Soviet address where the U.S. and other interested parties can turn and expect results.

In addition, the White House will press the Soviets to make certain that their recently imposed emigration law will not shut the door to thousands of Soviet Jews who may not have any immediate relatives living abroad.

On this matter, in fact, the National Conference on Soviet Jewry has already urged President Reagan to press the Soviets to negotiate a direct, bilateral agreement with Israel that would help to facilitate the emigration of these Soviet Jews. In the new Soviet emigration law, there is a loophole stipulating that separate bilateral agreements with other states can be negotiated to permit emigration. This, of course, could help Soviet Jews without immediate relatives abroad to win permission to leave.

BUT NEGOTIATING this kind of Israeli-Soviet agreement will require a continued improvement in the overall relationship between Jerusalem and Moscow. There has indeed been some progress in recent months, but a formal resumption of diplomatic ties remains uncertain. Knowledgeable Israeli officials who have had direct contacts with high-ranking Soviets suspect that the Kremlin will want to wait until after next year's Israeli election before taking that step.

The immediate objective, as far as Israel and the American Jewish community are concerned, remains increased emigration — how best to achieve that goal. Some changes in the approach appear in the offing. In years past, for example, the Reagan administration was asked to concentrate its efforts on presenting the Soviet authorities with lengthy lists of refuseniks and other dissi-



Rabbi Dan Fogel blows a shofar at the fifth annual Fast and Prayer Vigil for Soviet Jewry, held on Wednesday, on the steps of the Capitol in Washington. Several Senators and Representatives joined in the ceremony. (AFP telephoto)

dents denied permission to emigrate. The Soviets have often allowed people on those lists permission to leave.

But now, a new approach is being prepared. David Harris, the Washington representative of the American Jewish Committee, said that the new impetus should be in creating a better overall Soviet "process" to deal with the emigration issue — with less attention on lists of names. The most pressing need is to eliminate obnoxious bureaucratic obstacles standing in the way of free emigration.

If the Reagan-Gorbachev discussions go well, Harris and other Jewish leaders said, there is a very good chance that balanced progress in easing the plight of Soviet Jewry will also be achieved.

In fact, there has been a long-standing assumption that the fate of Soviet Jewry is directly linked to the state of East-West ties. When relations between Washington and Moscow are on the upswing, more Soviet Jews are usually permitted to emigrate. The height of the emigration movement, of course, occurred in 1979, when more than 51,000 Jews emigrated.

That was also the zenith of super-power détente. But that era of relatively smooth relations quickly collapsed with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. Reagan was elected a year later, and the Cold War atmosphere quickly returned. Jewish emigration plummeted.

IN RECENT months, the situation has improved as the Soviets and the Americans have successfully negotiated a limited arms-reduction agreement in Europe with more sweeping pacts possible down the road. In November, 910 Soviet Jews were allowed to emigrate — almost as many as were allowed to leave in all of 1986. But the emigration figures are still only a trickle when compared to the late 1970s.

"There have been a few minor concessions," Jerry Goodman of the National Conference on Soviet Jew-

ry said. "There has been a lot of atmosphere but not enough substance. We still have a long way to go."

That's why the Jewish community has organized a massive mobilization on behalf of Soviet Jewry for this Sunday. Gorbachev arrives in Washington on Monday.

On the day before, tens of thousands of American Jews and others will march from the park at the Ellipse, across the street from the White House, to the Washington Monument, to the mall in front of Capitol Hill to protest the treatment of Soviet Jews. Vice President George Bush will join several well-known former refuseniks and prisoners of conscience, including Natan Sharansky, Yuli Edelstein, Iosif Mendelevich, Ida Nudel and Vladimir Slepak. Elie Wiesel will speak as will several U.S. senators and Jewish leaders. Entertainers will include Paul Simon, Pearl Bailey and Mary Travers, from the folk-singing group Peter, Paul and Mary.

ADMINISTRATION officials do not believe that the mass demonstration will necessarily place a cloud over the summit. "These people are demonstrating on behalf of a cause with which this administration and this country are deeply committed," an administration official said. "Rather than put a cloud over the summit, I would expect it to put a spotlight on the issues."

He expected the demonstration to be orderly and dignified — "a very impressive demonstration of our concern. And I think that's to everybody's interests. And that's certainly the way we'll explain it to the Soviets."

In advance of the summit, other top administration officials are deliberately cautious in their public pronouncements on the emigration issue. They do not want to raise expectations.

At a White House briefing this week, for example, a senior administration official said that the U.S.

has in fact been disappointed by what he described as "the slowdown in decisions" in Moscow in connection with specific cases. He said that Washington has also been disappointed by the Soviet Union's refusal to move more quickly in "the movement toward this regularization that we have been seeking from the Soviets. And at this point, we don't have any reason to expect a breakthrough, announcements of regularization of procedures or a rise in numbers."

But a very strong effort to achieve those results will still be made.

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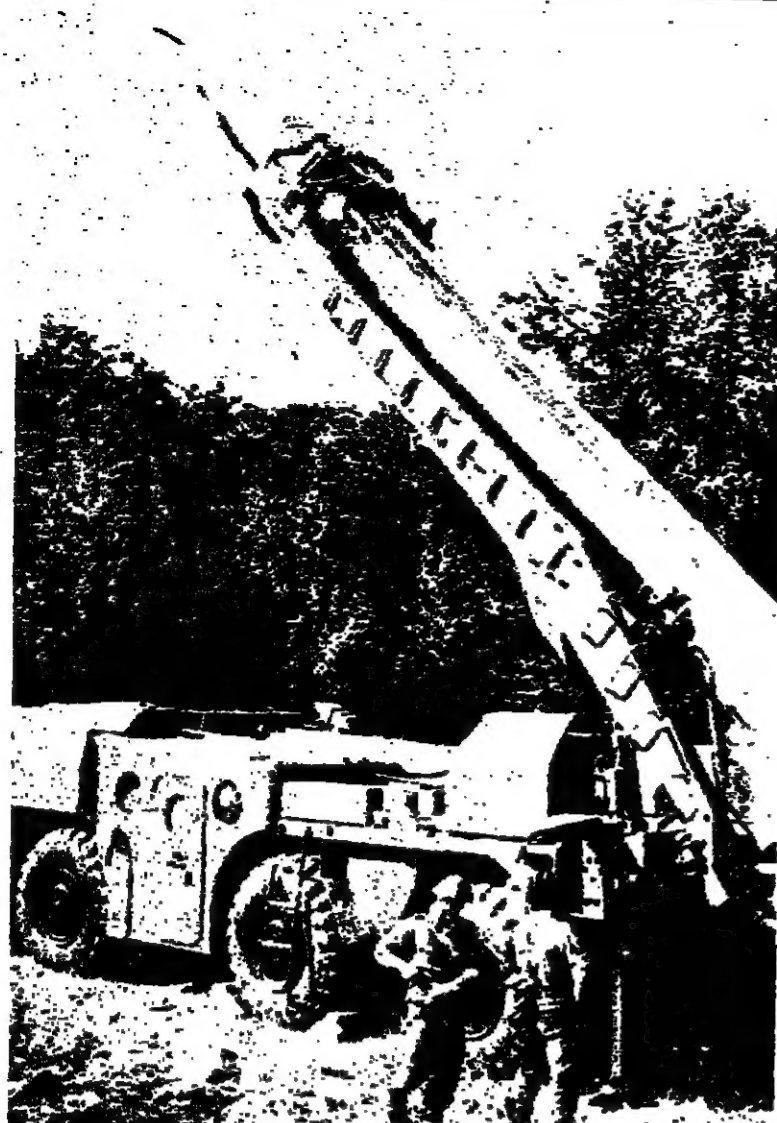
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Soviet supply of Scuds to Damascus could be affected

Deal on missiles heightens Syria's Jericho fears

Benny Morris



Sela seems to feel that Reagan and Gorbachev will not deal with the Middle East in their talks next week. "If they discuss a regional subject, it will probably be Afghanistan (of interest to the Soviets) or Central America (of interest to the U.S.). If they were to talk about the Middle East, they would probably deal with the Iran-Iraq war."

Nonetheless, there is a "Middle East" issue that will crop up, albeit indirectly — human rights, meaning Soviet Jewish emigration. Sela notes

that in his television appearance last week, Gorbachev was "conciliatory on bilateral issues" but took a "hard line on Jewish emigration." Sela described these statements as "part of the negotiation, bargaining process. It is important to note that he spoke about the Jewish problem at all. He is interested in creating a good starting position for the Soviets at the talks. Having spoken of the problem, it means it is up for negotiation, it is on the agenda."

As to what Gorbachev said, Sela

comments that "it was nothing more nor less than the usual Soviet line. He regards emigration from the Soviet Union as a brain drain encouraged by the U.S. But, out of humanitarian considerations, the Soviets are willing to approve a measure of emigration."

"Whoever, in Israel, demands emigration of Jews from the Soviet Union on the basis of 'repatriation' is simply not interested in aliya. Their aim," says Sela — in a barely veiled reference to Shamir and Likud hardliners — "is not to acquire the merchandise but to quarrel with the merchants."

Sela believes that taking the "repatriation" line will prove counterproductive, that the Soviets will clampdown on emigration, which will allow Jerusalem to argue that the Soviets are inflexible and unfriendly — meaning that they must be barred from the Middle East and the regional peace process. "Those who suffer most will be the Soviet Jews," says Sela.

On the other hand, flexibility on the Soviet emigration issue means agreeing to Soviet participation in the peace process, says Sela.

WHETHER OR not it comes up, next week's summit will effect the Middle East peace process. If the missile agreement is concluded, there will be "an atmosphere of goodwill and cooperation between the superpowers — which will be good for the world, good for the Middle East and good for the Jews."

Sela believes that the impending missile agreement is important for three reasons: it is the first time the two sides have agreed to a reduction of weapons in stock, and not merely to stop or limit future production; the Soviets agreed to detailed "verification" (inspection) on the ground; and the Soviets agreed to exempt the French and British independent nuclear forces from the agreement (they initially demanded that these be included).

Sela believes that the Soviet concessions in the agreement are the result of Gorbachev's overall political strategy for the Soviet Union, which is geared to the economic and technological revival of the country. Gorbachev hopes to achieve a closer balance of trade with the U.S., along with Most Favored Nation status, and to obtain Western technology. The missile agreement is a by-product of these aims.

Looking ahead, to the mooted Reagan-Gorbachev summit of April/May 1988, Sela suggests that it will be devoted to reviewing the implementation of the short and medium-range missile agreement and to starting negotiations on the reduction or elimination of strategic weapons.

TENNIS

Brad and a cold whip Jimbo

By JOHN PHILLIPS

NEW YORK, Reuter. — Brad Gilbert and a heavy cold combined to upset Jimmy Connors on the first night of round-robin matches in the Masters Tennis Tournament in Madison Square Garden here, winding up the Grand Prix season.

Eighth-seeded Gilbert, who qualified only last week for the eight-man tournament, held off his fourth-seeded American compatriot to win 6-4, 7-6 (7-5).

Stefan Edberg of Sweden split the first two sets with Australian Pat Cash before reeling off 16 of the last 19 points in the third set for a 6-4, 4-6, 6-1 victory.

In the last of the three matches of the night, Sweden's Mats Wilander needed only 85 minutes to vanquish Miloslav Mecir of Czechoslovakia 6-4, 6-1.

The eight players in the round-robin format are divided into two groups of four. Each player competes in three first-round matches, one each against the other players in his group. The two players in each group with the best record will be semi-finalists.

The winner of next Monday's final is guaranteed a minimum of \$190,000.

Connors, 35, played a generally lack-lustre match Wednesday, probably because of his cold. He sprinkled his game with unforced errors and squandered a 3-1 lead in the first set to lose it 6-4.

But when Gilbert failed to serve out the match at 5-4 in the second set, Connors sensed the chance for a comeback and fought to even the match, bringing games to 6-6 and the tiebreaker. Connors took a 4-2 lead in the tiebreaker, but a series of errors off the backhand cost him a chance to even the match. Instead, Gilbert levelled the score at 5-5, served out a 6-5 lead, then won the match with a forehand down the line.

"I let a lead go by," Gilbert said. "But I was fortunate to tough it out in the tiebreaker." Connors, who believes the tennis calendar should end in October, indicated he would rather not have been playing at all.

"This is my vacation time," he said. "I come in, I play and I play as is. I'm here to win. I'm just under

bad circumstances."

Edberg, the second seed, held off two break points at 4-1 in the first set to go up 5-4. He then broke Cash to win the set, despite committing 14 unforced errors to Cash's six.

The seventh-seeded Australian fought right back in the second set, breaking edberg in the first game. Throughout the set, Cash, this year's Wimbledon champion, displayed pinpoint accuracy with his backhand.

Edberg admitted to easing up after the first set.

"After winning the first set you tend to relax. I lost my concentration and it took sometime to get it back," he said.

But, by the third game of the third set, Edberg owned the court, winning 16 of the last 19 points.

Wilander and Mecir played a carefully crafted battle of tactics, but the Swede fired with greater accuracy, taking the first set 6-4 with a forehand winner.

The third-seeded Wilander, who had lost five of his previous eight meetings, out-manoeuvred Mecir in the second set, quickly taking a 5-1 lead and breaking Mecir twice as the Czechoslovak missed on the backhand.

Mecir, seeded sixth, played a sloppy game to drop serve for the match, hitting a casual forehand wide to give Wilander the victory 6-1.

SOCCER PREVIEW

Intriguing week-end games

By YORAM KESSEL

The most intriguing game in an altogether intriguing round, which brings the season — without, that is, the new play-off section at the end — to the half way mark features the leaders Maccabi Netanya at home against Maccabi Haifa.

Last week Netanya crashed to a humiliating 5-1 defeat at Kfar Sava, while Haifa recorded their very first home win of the season. That was hardly something to shout about from the rooftops, since their visitors on the occasion were Hapoel Lod, careening headlong for a drop to the Second Division.

This is what makes this clash so intriguing. Haifa are pretty much at full strength but precisely what that means this season is an enigma. Netanya have been misfiring for a number of weeks, and finally their crop of injuries caught up with them last Saturday. They are not much better off this weekend, since only Benny Lamm is due back, with Yigal Mennachem a very, very iffy possibility as well. Shaolom Tikva is still sidelined, as will be Baruch Hason, also hurt, and Danny Etzioni, who has picked up a host of yellow cards and must sit out the mandatory game.

At least one man on the pitch is in form — referee Arye Frost was the

only Israeli to excel in Wednesday's dismal showing at Kiryat Eliezer in the National team's 1-1 draw with Malta.

Both Betar Jerusalem and Maccabi Petah Tikva are in trouble. The champions have still not found that wonderful flowing rhythm which generated such excitement all last season. It all turns on the strange falling-off in prowess of midfield wizard Uri Malmilian. He was mis-cueing his passes woefully on Wednesday, and seems to be in a real slump. Still, Betar have managed, even while playing so inadequately, to keep their prospects of a recovery intact, and they lie only eight points adrift of the leaders.

They could well make up ground against shell-shocked Maccabi Petah Tikva. There's plenty of talent deep down in the youthful Petah Tikva team, but whether those latent abilities will be brought to the fore by the nasty managerial shenanigans which shunted Jack Mansell aside and brought in Zvi Rosen, who has hardly excelled as a coach in the past, remains highly dubious.

Before this late game at Bloomfield there's a 12.30 kick-off for Shimonah against Betar Tel Aviv, while the other Petah Tikva team, high-flying Hapoel have a real chal-

lenge on their hands too. They host Hapoel Tel Aviv, who are sitting pretty, theoretically, in second spot. But Hapoel are capable of making an awful mess of things.

Hapoel Beersheba entertain Maccabi Tel Aviv.

Maccabi looked really sharp when demolishing Hapoel Petah Tikva 4-1 last week, with Shahar Barei in a very attacking mood up front and Benny Tabak demonstrating his old shooting talents; they could unhinge Beersheba's unbeaten home record. But the other Maccabi striker Eli Dricks was among those injured against Malta and may be unavailable.

Finally, back in Tel Aviv, Beel Yehuda, now happily re-ensconced in their refurbished Hativka Quarter headquarters, have a real test of their defensive capacities. Kfar Sava are determined to demonstrate to all and sundry that their 15-minute blitz at home last weekend was not a passing meteor. On their day they show a real quick turn of foot and should prove too much for Beel Yehuda, coach David Schweitzer's scything tactics notwithstanding.

LUXEMBOURG (AP). — Scotland ended to a disappointing European championship campaign with a humiliating 5-0 defeat against Luxembourg.

Hungary won their championship group five qualifier against Cyprus 1-0.

CHUCKET: England 279, Punjab Chief Minister's XI 215 (Zaboor Elahi 62, England 8 for 1, W.L. 74/5 (Richardson 147, Haynes 70, Greenidge 58) playing India North Zone.)

EAST BLOC THAW WITH ISRAEL

(Continued from Page One)

Both men said that Russia sought broader contacts with Israeli public opinion. Beliaev wondered why Soviet journalists were not invited to Israel (he himself has visited once, as the guest of a Rakah-affiliated organization).

"Our press is much more open now," he noted. Naumkin said he might attend a seminar at Bir Zeit University in March ("Will they give me a visa?"), and would like to meet Israeli academics during that trip.

The interviews were arranged for *The Post* by the Middle East section of the Novosti news agency at the request of Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennady Gerasimov. Both men cited the interviews themselves as evidence of the Soviet desire to expand relations of the non-diplomatic kind.

Beliaev confirmed that Foreign Minister Shevardnadze had offered the establishment of diplomatic interest sections, and expressed shocked disapproval that Peres had rejected this. He indicated that the Soviets had considered Peres's proposal for a Middle East mini-international conference within the framework of the Washington Summit a non-starter. (The idea was rejected by Jordan.)

He said that Israel "is not our friend, or our ally, or even our partner-of-convenience" and dwelt on Israel's participation in an American SDI-linked project as "not a pro-Soviet step."

He played down the Arab world's rapprochement with Egypt, insisting that this was an upshot of the Iran-Iraq war and did not represent permanent acquiescence in Camp David. He noted with approval that Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin had recently warned that Israel could face new challenges once the Gulf War was over.

Beliaev said that while the loss of life in the recent hang-glider attack near Kiryat Shmona was regrettable, the Palestinians had plainly sought in this way "to influence the summit" where the Middle East issue would certainly figure prominently.

For the Soviet Union, he said, a peaceful Middle East was a key element in Moscow's broad peace strategy. "The political decision to evacuate Afghanistan has been taken," he said. The next step must be an end to the Gulf War, and then the Arab-Israeli conflict.

"If we could restore peace to our southern flank, that would be a great step towards peace in the world... The Mediterranean is a vital area for us. A central European solution, and disarmament there, could contribute to peace in the Mediterranean, and vice versa."

Naumkin, more discursive and less dogmatic, stressed the "compromises" that he said Moscow was continuing to make in its positions on the Mideast conflict. "We have been pressing the Arabs for years, persuading them that extremist solutions are unrealistic. We have been against terrorism, against talk of liquidating the State of Israel. If there is more pragmatism on the Arab side, much of the credit is ours."

"It is in the interest of the people of Israel to make progress. It's not our problem; it's your problem. Frankly, a lot of people here say we have no interest in getting involved. They say we can impose our friendship on the Arab countries, and are improving our relations with the West."

He spoke of new "optimism" in Soviet-Egyptian ties, of recent improvement in relations both with Iran and with Gulf Arab conservative states. He claimed that current Soviet diplomacy had succeeded in allaying Iraqi fears that Moscow was

swinging its support to the other side in the Gulf war.

Naumkin conceded that Iranian religious fundamentalism had been seeping across the border. "Iran tries to promote its propaganda by radio broadcasts and cassettes."

There was "some pressure" among Soviet Muslims for "more active religion... some people want their kids to have a traditional education. They want religious marriages and circumcisions."

"But I cannot say that this is a 'problem.' It stems from domestic dissatisfaction over life under Brezhnev rather than from external influences. There was corruption and misrule in Central Asia under Brezhnev... that led some people to turn to religion."

"The central government reacts calmly. It focuses on the need to solve peoples' everyday problems."

"In our political condition, it is impossible, I think, for a religious revival to breed political extremism. The party's influence is strong, especially on young people."

On Libya, Naumkin admitted that Gaddafi's regime was "difficult to understand. But it's friendly, and we like it because it is hostile to U.S. imperialism."

"Of course we are not satisfied by some of his actions and policies... his terrorism in the 1970s. But he is not our puppet. He is our friend and we must work with him."

"Sometimes we ask our American colleagues about Israeli extremists, and they say they cannot influence them. It is the same with us and Libya. What can we do? He is rich! But he has learned some lessons...."

"In the final analysis, you can't choose your allies!"



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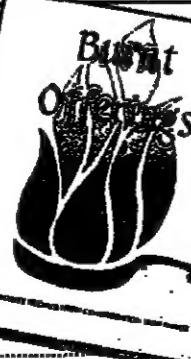
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The miracle of Assaf Harofeh

OF ALL Israel's tourist attractions, one of the least likely might appear to be the Assaf Harofeh Medical Centre at Tzrifin which is often considered the deprived stepchild of Israeli hospitals. This is despite its being the country's third largest government hospital, serving a large region which encompasses Rishon LeZion, Rehovot, Ramla, Lod and surrounding rural settlements all the way to the Jerusalem foothills.

But over the last decade, the 60-acre hospital site, dotted with ramshackle relics of the Mandate, has become a shrine for devout Israel-loving Protestants from Europe and America. All are members of the Swiss-based Beth Shalom movement, a non-denominational organization, whose object is the fostering of love for the Jewish people and Israel.

Assaf Harofeh's director, Dr. Mordechai Waron, estimates that at least 9,000 Beth Shalom members have made the trek in recent years, often enthralling the over-worked staff and the patients. "You'd have to be made of stone not to be moved by how much these people, most of them Swiss, love us. For us, their association with Assaf Harofeh has been something of a miracle. Since they started coming here, I find it difficult not to believe in miracles," he says.

About 400 to 500 members visit the hospital every year. With them, they bring a substantial donation. During November alone, the Beth Shalom spiritual leader, Dr. Wim Malgo, handed Dr. Waron a cheque for \$750,000. So far, Beth Shalom's donations add up to a sum exceeding \$4 million.

"When they visit Assaf Harofeh, we split the pilgrims into groups of about 20, each accompanied by a couple of staff. One after the other these doctors, do matter how jaded and cynical they usually are, come to me, emotionally stirred, with stories about how in one ward or another, these sedate Swiss suddenly grab at jars, pots, or whatever is available," Dr. Waron relates. "Then, as if their already massive contributions were not sufficient, they fill these containers with all the cash they have on them."

Such devotion to Assaf Harofeh not only comes to the fore at the hospital itself, but in places as far away as Minnesota. Thus Waron

A Swiss-based non-denominational movement, which aims to foster love for the Jewish people, has donated \$4m. to Assaf Harofeh hospital.

takes out an invitation to the 75th birthday celebration of Mrs. Margaret Lindholm, a pastor's wife from Thiefs Falls, Minnesota. In lieu of gifts, the guests are requested to make contributions to the Aliza Begin Commemorative Centre at Assaf Harofeh. A note explains that Aliza Begin was the wife of Israel's former prime minister, "a friend of America and a friend of Evangelical Christians."

Aliza Begin, in fact, was the matchmaker between Beth Shalom and Assaf Harofeh.

Waron recalls: "She was very active on our behalf way back, long before Friends of Assaf Harofeh Hospital, a dedicated organization, was founded. In those days we were in the boondocks of public attention and hardly a glamorous cause by any stretch of the imagination. People seeking publicity had more prestigious projects to bestow their patronage on. Mrs. Begin was with us long before her husband became premier. In the aftermath of the Yom Kippur War, the Beth Shalom group began providing very considerable financial assistance to a number of projects in this country. Mrs. Begin brought them to us and we clicked. From then on this remarkable, if not altogether incredible, bond was sealed," he recounts.

"When Mrs. Begin died in 1982, it was decided to name the central 440-bed complex of 12 wards after her. So far, Beth Shalom has footed over a quarter of the construction bill, in addition to a number of other projects, most notably the hospital teaching centre, which includes an auditorium, a library, seminar rooms, etc."

The centre, Waron points out, "is essential, since despite our very sad physical state, medically speaking this hospital is a state-of-the-art facility. We are a teaching hospital, affiliated to Tel Aviv University's Sackler School of Medicine, providing training for students, interns and resident doctors. Moreover, in a joint programme with the state of New York, American medical students are trained here."

Sarah Honig



Aliza Begin was active on behalf of Assaf Harofeh long before her husband became premier and the hospital's new central complex is to be named after her. (Israel Sun)

THE HOSPITAL, which serves a population of about 250,000, admits over 30,000 patients annually to its various clinical wards, as well as dealing with 18,000 day patients, 115,000 emergency cases, 150,000 outpatients and some 18,000 soldiers. The pediatric rehabilitation unit is the country's only facility for children with cerebral palsy and other developmental disorders. Patients come from as far away as Kiryat Shmona and Eilat.

Of the hospital's 660 beds, only 220 — including those of the gynecological, maternity and pediatric wards — are located in permanent buildings. All others, due to be relocated to the Aliza Begin complex over the next two years, are still situated in dilapidated barracks, erected by the British Army as long ago as the 1920s.

Dr. Waron shudders as he recalls

how one summer day in 1983, at twenty minutes past noon, the ceiling of what was then the maternity ward dining-room came crashing down. Had the two tons of concrete hit the ground five minutes earlier, it would have crushed the still-lunching patients.

He himself came to Assaf Harofeh as an intern in 1959, when the barracks "were not much different from how they must have looked when they were used as the military hospital for the giant British Sarafand base. During the War of Independence, it was an IDF military hospital and at the war's end went civilian. When I first saw the barracks, they weren't even divided into rooms. They had just one long ward with a depressingly interminable row of beds."

"The money that has been sunk, over the decades, into making these barracks temporarily usable would have been sufficient for the construction of a giant high-rise hospital."

"For years we were the neglected poor relative of the Israeli hospital system. Histadrut/Kupat Holim hospitals received the lion's share of Health Ministry funds, and we got a pittance. This changed when the Likud's Eliezer Shostak became health minister and the new attitude was sustained under Labour's Motta Gur, as well as under the present minister Shoshana Arbeli-Almoulin," Waron notes.

Public interest was aroused only as a result of the Six Day War, when volunteers helping tend wounded soldiers, were appalled by the conditions they saw. Their reaction gave birth to the Friends of Assaf Harofeh, which has dedicated activists both here and abroad.

"I can state unequivocally that no institution was ever blessed by such energetic Friends. Our construction project, which will hopefully soon take us out of the *ma'abara* era, got off the ground thanks to them. At their own initiative, they commissioned architects' plans and got the Ministry of Health to match their funds dollar for dollar," says Waron.

"In a few years we hope to be able to raze all the barracks here, though we may keep a few as historical museum pieces," he throws in as an afterthought.



Premature babies are moved at the opening of Assaf Harofeh's new maternity ward. (Studio 23)

Assaf Harofeh's showcase

WHEN DEMAND outstrips supply, even new premises have a way of shrinking. This is what is happening to Assaf Harofeh's maternity ward. Only three years ago it acquired modern accommodation, but already it is seeking additional space which, it hopes, the Aliza Begin Centre will provide.

Dr. Waron isn't surprised. The gynecology and obstetrics department is one of the hospital's best. Its reputation has spread beyond the hospital's assigned territory and expectant mothers from other areas flock to it. Those directed elsewhere, refuse to leave. There are now 400 births a month, making the 50-bed ward insufficient. The ward increased its capacity to 64 by crowding more patients into a room.

This Assaf Harofeh showcase boasts a number of Israeli, as well as international, firsts. Department head Prof. Elyahu Caspi and his Deputy, Dr. Jan Bukovsky, are reluctant to reveal numbers, fearing that "No one would believe us."

Their department was a relative late-comer to in vitro fertilization. But when they set up the department — in April, 1986 — they started with an innovation. Prof. Caspi explains that, since the test-tube embryo's chances of being implanted in the womb are not good, it is desirable to work with a number of embryos. For this a woman's ovaries must be hormonally stimulated to produce more than the normal ovum a month. But the treatment results in a premature ovulation in about a third of the cases, making in vitro fertilization impossible. At Assaf Harofeh, this

problem is overcome by suspending the patient's own hormonal activity before artificial stimuli are introduced.

"We were among the first in the world to employ this method; the results were so astounding that at first we just put it down to beginner's luck. But instead of falling off, our success rate is only increasing," Prof. Caspi notes.

"There are hardly any cases where we are unable to extract the ova in order to get the fertilization process underway. We achieve pregnancies in 41 per cent of cases, against an international average of 25 per cent. What we have achieved here is a real breakthrough," he says.

Dr. Bukovsky adds: "This achievement is even more considerable if we take into account the fact that about half of our infertility cases are not promising. We do not only deal with healthy young women with blocked fallopian tubes. About half of our cases involve the tough unexplained infertility cases, as well as immunological and male infertility cases."

The department was among the first in the country to employ ultrasound equipment and the first to introduce laparoscopy in the treatment of fallopian tubes, beating the introduction of this European method into the U.S. The department's record in preventing the removal of these tubes in cases of ectopic (out-of-the-womb) pregnancies is known worldwide.

Sephardi challenge to polarization

IN THE mid-1970s, Israel's burning domestic issue was the ethnic gap between Ashkenazim and Sephardim, which generated much tension and conflict on the social and political scene. Today, religious polarization between the ultra-Orthodox and the non-Orthodox has become Israel's number one source of conflict among the Jewish population.

In the 1970s, the leaders of the World Sephardi Federation — Nessim Gaon, its president, and Steven and Liliane Shalom — doggedly lobbied Israel's leaders to make a bigger effort to close the ethnic gap of alienation and inequality. They also spent many hours trying to persuade Sephardi militants from the urban slums to be patient and wait for the establishment to act.

Gaon and his colleagues can point to some success on both fronts. They supplied part of the impetus that led the establishment to launch Project Renewal, the comprehensive rehabilitation programme for disadvantaged neighbourhoods and towns. And by calming the militants, they helped keep the lid on what could have been an explosive situation.

Now they have taken on the challenge of religious polarization, but from a Sephardi perspective. The issue of religious moderation in the Sephardi tradition and how to protect it from extremist influences was high on the agenda of the World

Sephardi Congress, which met this past week in Jerusalem.

Gaon expressed the concern of Sephardi leaders in Israel and the Diaspora that "our youth are slowly losing their heritage and traditions. We feel that unless we take swift action to remedy the situation, in the space of less than a generation, we shall lose our moderation as Sephardi Jews in our religious practice and will be transformed into a fanatic group."

"Our people for the most part are observant Jews, yet because of our love of religion, we are easy prey to extremist movements. Fanaticism is completely alien to our way and custom of religious practice," Gaon stressed.

GAON, AN international businessman, was born in Sudan and has lived for many years in Geneva. He has been president of the WSF since 1972.

Stephen Shalom, also a businessman, is younger than Gaon and is a leader of the New York Jewish federation. His roots are in Syrian Jewry.

Shalom was boiling over with frustration at the ultra-rightist trend taken by the Sephardi religious revival in Israel, which is the result of years of heavy Ashkenazi ultra-Orthodox influence.

"Why are all the Sephardi rabbis wearing black coats?" he asked.

Charles Hoffman

"This is not our *minhag* [custom]. When I asked a *hakham* [religious leader] from Morocco why he wears a black coat and not his traditional ceremonial robes, he said: 'They won't let me.'"

"When I asked another Sephardi rabbi why they had to have such a tall *mehitza* at weddings, and why men could not sit with their wives as they did in Morocco, Syria and other countries, he said: 'I have no choice.'"

"What is this, a religious mafia?" asked Shalom.

He continued, "In the last elections, I went to a rally held by Shas. At the end, I asked some people how they would vote. They all said: 'I'll do whatever my rebbe tells me.' The people who have taken over the Sephardi yeshivot are turning out robots, not thinking people."

The WSF leaders are not only concerned about these trends in Israel but also about the fallout in the Diaspora. The WSF supports efforts to preserve the Sephardi religious and cultural heritage, particularly through synagogue life. There are instances, in New York for example, where Ashkenazi rabbis have made good matches with Sephardi congregations. But there is still a great need, Shalom stressed, for more Sephardi rabbis and teachers in the Diaspora.

"But God forbid that we should bring a Sephardi rabbi from Israel now. They come in and tell the women to cover their heads and stop wearing slacks, and then tell people that they can't watch television. They are dividing our communities. It may be very late, perhaps even too late, to do something to change this trend, but we have to try."

DURING THE discussion of the religious issue, Prof. Daniel Elazar, himself of Sephardi background, noted that "the classical tradition of Sephardi study combines religious study with openness to the arts, sciences and philosophy. This is the tradition of the Rambam."

He said that the Sephardim must recover this tradition in Israel to "provide a proper religious alternative for our youth." He called on the WSF to support the development of yeshivot that would produce *poskim* (halachic authorities) in the classical Sephardi mode. Gaon spoke of the need to set up a world-wide council

of Sephardi rabbis to work with the WSF to strengthen the moderate foundation of Sephardi tradition.

The Sephardi rabbis taking part in the discussion — most of whom wore black coats — warned, however, that moderation should not mean compromise where religious observance is concerned. Moderation, some of them stressed, is possible only where there are no organized challenges to Orthodoxy as the accepted way of life, as it was in traditional Sephardi communities.

While Gaon stressed that much progress had been made in the past 10 years in creating equal opportunities for all Jews in Israel, much of it through Project Renewal, there is still much to be done.

"Despite the fact that the bitter divisions between the two tribes no longer exist, our people still need help, particularly in education. This is where we want to put most of our emphasis in the future, on improving educational opportunities by expanding our scholarship programme."

The Young Leadership Scholarship programme, sponsored by the WSF and the Jewish Agency, has helped 5,000 men and women from development towns finish their university studies.

THE SUCCESSFUL experience with the programme and with Project Renewal has led the WSF to launch a more independent organizational strategy in Israel. The world headquarters of the WSF will be moved from Geneva to Jerusalem and will operate out of Sephardi House, the projected cultural and organizational centre of the WSF.

The WSF is negotiating with the World Zionist Organization to close its Department for Sephardi Communities. The WSF wants to convert the \$650,000 it now receives from the WZO for this department into an annual grant that can be used for programmes operated through Sephardi House.

The WSF plans to augment this sum with funds raised among the members of its international board of governors, which is also a new departure for the WSF. For many years the WSF was basically run by Gaon and his brother-in-law, Leon Tamman of England. Several months ago Tamman left the WSF to set up his own organization to promote equality and pluralism.

This served as a catalyst for Gaon, the Shaloms and others to develop a broader base for the WSF. In a cam-



Nessim Gaon, left, chats with, left to right, Jacques Khaffi, of Brazil, Stephen Shalom, of the U.S., and Education Minister Yitzhak Navon at the World Sephardi Congress in Jerusalem this week. (Media)

paign that they called the Sephardi Caravan, they managed within several months to personally recruit 219 wealthy Sephardim from North America, South America and Europe to the new board.

"We are charging each one of them a \$5,000 'entrance fee' each year for three years," Gaon said. "In addition, we want the board to sponsor specific social and educational projects in Israel and the Diaspora, which will be funded by separate contributions."

Who are the people who joined the board? Liliane Shalom explained that most of them are first-generation immigrants from the Middle East who left Syria, Morocco, Lebanon or Iran anywhere from 10 to 30 years ago.

"Fifteen years ago," she said, "it would not have been possible to at-

tract such people. But now they are well-established in business and in their communities, and many of them have even become big contributors to the general Israel campaigns. They are eager for involvement in Israel and in world-wide Sephardi affairs."

This success in putting together an international body of Sephardi donors has aroused some concern in the Israeli branch of the WSF, which is dominated by political figures such as former minister Aharon Uzan. He said that he doesn't want a repeat of the situation in the Jewish Agency, where Diaspora donors can veto Israeli political leaders in the governance of Sephardi House.

Another important Israeli connection for the new WSF initiative is a Council of Development Towns, Neighbourhoods and Area Com-

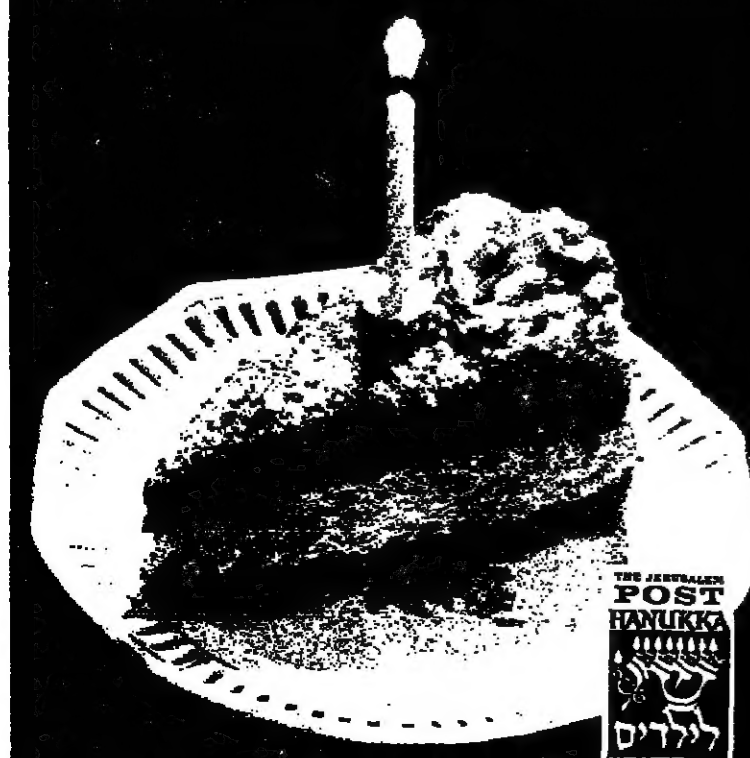
mittees, which will be set up to act as an Israeli affiliate of the WSF and a partner in operating programmes for social, cultural and economic development.

Stephen Shalom said that the WSF will provide small business loans for residents of disadvantaged areas. Gaon spoke of a more ambitious programme of floating economic development bonds, guaranteed by the state, for development towns.

Gaon stressed that these projected programmes are not just for the Sephardim who live in these areas but for all residents, no matter what their background. And he is also determined to keep the operation of Sephardi House on a professional basis, without the politicization that the WSF has encountered for years in the Agency and WZO.

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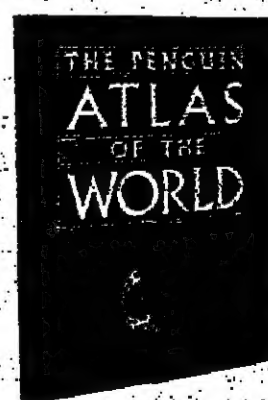
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The system has maintained a shaky peace between the Orthodox and secular for 40 years, but the climate today demands a new arrangement

Needed -- a revised status quo

Yosef Goell

THE CLAIM is often heard from secular and religious camps that it is the other side which is to blame for the breakdown in the "status quo" on religious affairs. It is worthwhile recalling what the "status quo agreement" which guided the country in its first four decades, was all about; how it actually worked, and where and why it failed to work.

On June 19, 1947, the leaders of the Jewish Agency — David Ben Gurion of Mapai, Yitzhak Greenbaum of the General Zionists and Rabbi Yehuda Leib Fishman-Maimon of the Mizrahi — wrote to the anti-Zionist, ultra-Orthodox Agudat Yisrael, committing the leadership of the future Jewish state to the continuation of the status quo that had been maintained under the British Mandate in four areas of religious practice: The Jewish Sabbath was to be the official weekly day of rest; kitchens in public institutions serving food to Jews would be kosher; great efforts would be made to ensure that the Jewish people did not split over issues of marriage and divorce; and a large measure of autonomy would be guaranteed to the religious schools.

Two points are worth noting: first, the extraordinary fact that the leaders of the Jewish state in the

making saw fit to promise the ultra-Orthodox minority that in regard to four areas of religious practice things would not be worse under the Jewish state than they had been under the Mandate.

The second point is that the promise was made to Agudat Yisrael in an attempt to dissuade it from appearing before the UN Commission on Palestine (Unscop) to oppose the establishment of a Jewish State in a partitioned Palestine; a position the Aguda leaders had threatened to adopt openly.

The UN partition decision, which was adopted by a hair's-breadth majority in the General Assembly 40 years ago this week, was based on the majority recommendation of Unscop. An open split in Jewish ranks before Unscop could have led to very different results.

The status quo letter was appropriately vague, but it went on to serve as the basis for countless coalition agreements and legislation which determined official practice in areas of religious-secular conflict. It is also interesting to note that whereas the original promises were made to the Aguda, their implementation was haggled over interminably, but successfully, between Mapai (Labour's predecessor) and the



(Dan Landau)

religious-Zionist NRP. The Aguda was to all intents and purposes left out in the cold.

The truth is that there never was a status quo. For, it was humanly impossible to freeze a given situation over four decades in what became the world's fastest-changing society, both in regard to numbers and to internal composition. The status quo was a convenient fiction that served as a benchmark for negotiating periodic coalition agreements between Mapai and the NRP, hammering out compromises on legislation on religious matters, and for laying down the rules of the game.

The remarkable thing about that fiction was that it worked so successfully for so long. It worked because the politicians who were parties to the fiction agreed to treat it as a game, with known rules, while maintaining the facade of fiction for the benefit of their more ideological and glib constituents. The result was a messy but extremely viable *modus vivendi*, between a secular majority and a religious minority, who shared many aspects of a common Zionist agenda. One of the main reasons it worked was that the anti-Zionist Aguda, which could not bring itself to play this double game, was consciously kept beyond the

pale both by the secular Mapai and by the NRP.

THERE WAS NEVER any dispute as to the principle that the Jewish Sabbath would be the country's official weekly day of rest. Conflict constantly simmered over work permits for certain industries and services, and public transport. Permits enabling places of employment to operate on Shabbat require the approval of a special ministerial committee comprising the prime minister, the minister of labour and the minister of religious affairs. One interesting aspect of this arrangement is that the minister of religious affairs, who was nearly always from the NRP, always voted no, and usually heaved a sigh of relief that he had been outvoted by his two secular colleagues.

While the operation of buses and state-owned railways on Shabbat was forbidden, in effect, nearly anyone who wants to travel on that day can do so — albeit at greater expense and inconvenience.

The vague clause in the status quo letter on maintaining Jewish unity on matters of marriage and divorce has been translated into the granting of a monopoly over these fields to the Orthodox rabbinate. The unity argument has proven to be spurious

because very observant Jews move heaven and earth to prevent their children from marrying children of the less Orthodox, not to mention secular, families. The fact that the monopoly granted to the rabbinate has made intermarriage impossible is not seen as a problem in Israel, for polls have shown that the vast majority of the secular population — including nearly all the Arabs — is opposed to permitting marriages across religious lines.

Even the insistence of the rabbinate on maintaining ancient tribal marriage taboos — against marriage with *mamzerim* or marriage of a Cohen with a divorced woman — has not proven overly onerous. Israelis can marry in Cyprus, Paris or New York (including members of different religions) and have their marriages recognized by the secular administrative authorities in Israel. One can even marry by proxy in Mexico, and later in Panama, and have the marriage recognized here.

Worth noting is the fact that several hundred Jewish couples who couldn't stand the idea of being married by a rabbi, have married themselves fully in accordance with the Halacha. Rabbinical marriage registrars have been compelled by the High Court of Justice to record such

legal marriages.

The rabbinical stranglehold on divorce and the Halacha's innate prejudice against women in regard to divorce has been much more problematic. For many couples enmeshed in "nasty divorces," the problem has been partly ameliorated by the widespread acceptance of common-law marriages, and the legal protection given to women in such arrangements, under the heading of "the woman known in public as his wife."

The entire pattern, over 40 years, has been one of hammering out political compromises which have been unpalatable to either or to both camps, and then largely ignoring or evading them in day-to-day practice to make it possible for each side to live in accordance with its own lights.

This was the arrangement worked out between Labour and the NRP, with the more fundamentalistic Aguda being largely ignored. But since the 1977 elections, when Menachem Begin brought the Aguda back into active politics, that ultra-Orthodox party has also learned to play the game. It won on the issue of closing down El Al flights on Shabbat, but it gave in on keeping Ben-Gurion Airport open. It won on

drastically tightening up on the abortion law. But in the eight years since that victory there has been no noticeable change in the abortion rate. Indications are that many hospital boards are approving abortions on legally spurious grounds — although the decisions may be sound from a humanitarian point of view. But the Aguda is playing the old NRP game, and has chosen not to make waves.

IT IS A dubious system, but one that has worked in keeping the peace between secular and religious communities. However, the situation has changed on both sides. In the religious camp the growingly assertive, fundamentalistic Eda Haredit and Shas are gaining ascendancy over a rapidly receding Agudat Yisrael. Religious Zionism is in deep crisis, with many among its younger generation either dropping away from religion or becoming ultra-Orthodox — a process commonly termed *haredization*.

There is an even greater crisis of belief on the secular side. The events of the last two decades have served to undermine Zionist and patriotic belief systems, especially for a younger generation of Israelis, leaving a spiritual void for many secular Israelis. At the same time, they harbour fears of having halachic and primitive folk restrictions rammed down their throats. These fears have recently given rise to the beginnings of a more militant secular backlash, especially in Jerusalem.

The old status quo, that served us so well, is dead. It will have to be supplanted by a new arrangement for a *modus vivendi* between Israelis who believe in different visions and practise different life styles. This is a process that theoretically should be guided by our political leaders. But the leaders of the major parties, in cowardly fashion, have chosen to shy away from the issue. Instead, the issues will be fought out in the streets and in the court of public opinion. It is a fight that the secular population should not fear. To the contrary, it needs a good dose of consciousness-raising to conduct a legitimate fight for its own way of life, and to appreciate the limits to the conduct of that fight.

Looking at the events of the past few years, one sees that on every occasion on which the secular majority has chosen to fight, it has won. Our rabbis, and especially the ultra-Orthodox, are great pragmatists. When they meet determined opposition, they give in.

This confrontation will, in all likelihood, get worse before it gets better. But I have no doubt that the time will come, even if it is not here yet, when the situation will improve as a result of responsible leaders on both sides deciding to work together on a new *modus vivendi*.

THE RELATIONSHIP between the State of Israel and the Jewish nation is flawed by a structural anachronism. In the 40 years since the founding of the Jewish state, Zionist ideology has failed to meet the challenge of adapting to the new reality of Jewish existence in the second half of the 20th century — a reality which Zionism itself, in large part, helped to create.

Zionist ideology proceeds from the conviction that a sovereign state, populated and governed by Jews, provides the best framework for Jewish existence. However, the existence of a sovereign Jewish state has not only presented the Israelis with a framework for political self-determination, but has also confronted them with the need to come to terms with the conflicts between traditional Judaism and modern democracy.

Moreover, through the realization of Zionism's central objective, it has become clear that the majority of Jews in the world today, namely, those who have chosen to remain in the Diaspora, see in the Zionist vision of an ideal framework for Jewish existence only one of a number of alternatives.

Thus, on the eve of the 31st Zionist Congress, Zionist ideology finds itself out of touch with the realities of modern Jewish existence.

THE ANACHRONISMS inherent in the relationship between Israel, as the embodiment of Zionist ideology, and the Jews, as a nation, can perhaps be seen most clearly in the way the Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Organization are still functioning. If they are to retain their formerly vital roles, they will both have to undergo substantial structural and organizational reforms.

First, however, it will be necessary to rethink the basic premises on

Facing up to Diaspora existence

'On the eve of the 31st Zionist Congress, Zionist ideology finds itself out of touch with the realities of Jewish existence'

Arye Carmon

which both organizations were founded and continue to operate.

A revision of Zionist ideology, if it is to serve any purpose, will require a recognition of the fundamental fact that the Jewish nation has long been and still is a "diasporic" nation. In the early stages of the "Zionist revolution," the negation of the Diaspora was, perhaps, an ideological necessity. Forty years after the fulfillment of Zionism's primary goal, however, the denial of the validity of continued Jewish existence in the Diaspora has proved counter-productive.

It is the reversal of this trend at which a revision of Zionist ideology should be aimed. Israel must perceive itself, and be perceived by the rest of the Jewish world, not only as a framework for the exercise of Jewish political sovereignty, but as the one and only centre of the diasporic nation.

THE CONCEPT of Israel's central-

ity, combined with an acceptance of Jewish existence outside the borders of the state, in no way conflicts with fundamental Zionist doctrine. At its core is an understanding of the Jewish nation as a cultural and historical entity rather than as a set of co-religionists. It is on this issue that the Zionist/Israeli perception of Judaism differs from that of Diaspora Jews.

Out of a need to adapt to and integrate with their host societies, the Jews of the Diaspora are inevitably compelled to seek a narrower definition of Judaism. This tendency — which, before the Holocaust, was most marked in the German-speaking countries of Europe and today finds its strongest expression among North American Jews — seeks to define the Jewish identity as a matter of religious affiliation.

In this view, the purpose of the Jewish people is to serve Jewish ideals. Judaism is perceived as a theological doctrine embodied in customs and ritual ceremonies. By extension, among secular Jews who perceive themselves as such, Judaism is seen as a wellspring of humanistic thought, which accounts for the high rate of Jewish involvement in causes associated with the promotion of social justice in the countries of the Diaspora.

At the same time, however, the Jewish identity of both the religious (be he Orthodox, Conservative or Reform) and the secular, Diaspora Jew must conflict with his identity as a member of another nation-state.

IT IS essential, then, to redefine the concept of the nation-state to suit the unique and specific requirements of a "diasporic" nation.

Potentially, a serious groping with this redefinition offers the Jewish people a unique opportunity to make a universal contribution to a world in which particularism — very often in the form of fundamentalism — is steadily on the rise.

For Diaspora Jews, it offers a challenge in demonstrating their commitment to Jewish ideals, while Israel, as the centre of the Jewish

world, must accept its leadership role in pursuing this new Zionist goal.

In practical terms, the realization of this goal calls for a restructuring of existing Zionist institutions. The current activities of the World Zionist Organization, for example, properly fall under the authority of the sovereign state which represents the political interests of the Jewish people. This being the case, the WZO ought to be integrated into the structure of the government of Israel.

The Jewish Agency, on the other hand, should be re-constituted as a vehicle for the participation and involvement of non-Israeli Jews in the promotion of Zionist goals, as they relate both to the State of Israel and to the Jewish nation as a whole.

What is suggested is a conversion of the Jewish Agency to an essentially Diaspora organization. While its centre of operations would remain in Israel, the positions of chairman and heads of all departments should be held by leaders of Jewish communities in the Diaspora.

The policies and priorities of the newly constituted Agency, as well as its areas of activity should, of course, be decided in consultation with the Israeli government. To this end, the creation of a Ministry of Israel-Diaspora Relations seems advisable. The new minister could, perhaps, also serve as chairman of the Agency's board of governors.

AMONG THE tasks for which there is a need, and which could be fulfilled by a restructured Jewish Agency, is the coordination of Diaspora Jewish philanthropic activities and the administration and distribution of donations.

There has recently been much irresponsible talk in Israel about disassociating ourselves from Jewish philanthropy and the current Diaspora Jewish "establishment." At the same time, some Jewish communities in the Diaspora have tried to express their dissatisfaction with the establishment by setting up alternative routes for donating to Jewish causes.

The result has been that the funds raised are distributed in a haphazard manner, without any coordinated policy. The most disturbing factor in this regard is that of some \$1 billion contributed annually for various Jewish causes, about 10 per cent is allocated by the Lubavitcher movement alone.

This annual \$50m-\$100 m. is raised annually from sources which, if the proper means were available, might well be willing to support causes of broader general interest to the Jewish people as a whole, including such things as higher learning and education towards democracy in Israel.

The ideas outlined above are intended as new impulses for debate. The suggestions for concrete changes are tentative and require development and elaboration.

Dr. Carmon is the director of the Israel-Diaspora Institute of Tel Aviv University.

The pessimism that gives cheer to Shamir

PRIME MINISTER Yitzhak Shamir and his followers reacted quite optimistically to the pessimism that U.S. Defence Secretary Frank Carlucci had reportedly expressed to the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations about the prospects of an international Middle East peace conference before 1989.

Carlucci did not say that the administration in general, or he himself, had changed their minds about the necessity for such a conference. All he said was that he did not see the conference being convened before the U.S. presidential election and the inauguration of the new president.

But this was enough for Shamir. He interpreted it as an expression of opposition to the very idea of the international conference, and concluded that Carlucci had spelled "the death of the conference idea."

Quite typically, the solemn announcement of death was not based on what Carlucci had said, but on what was unofficially leaked from the meeting. The Israeli ambassador in Washington was not instructed to clarify what the secretary had actually said and meant. Nor was the U.S. ambassador here asked to supply that information before Shamir made his announcement.

And no wonder. Who cares for details and clarifications, when propaganda is better served by indistinct words and illegible letters?

Apart from propaganda, this is an unsophisticated method of diplomacy. How can a prime minister react to a declaration attributed to none other than the U.S. defence secretary without consulting his own ambassador, without reading the full, exact text on which he wishes to comment? In other words, Mr. Shamir was celebrating a new American position that never existed.

ON THE OTHER hand, Carlucci's political forecast has a meaning of its own — that no substantive move is anticipated in the coming months. From his point of view as the leader of a political party, Shamir has grounds to be satisfied with that forecast. He does not need a real, essential change in the American position regarding the means of promoting peace. A freeze for Israel's crucial election year will be enough.

The Likud will probably emphasize in its campaign that Shimon Peres was unable to have the international conference convened, and a careful reading of what Carlucci reportedly said strengthens the impression that Shamir's concept of a freeze is a manifestation of realism, prudence and leadership.

This is how things appear in Isra-

el, not how things should be taken into consideration.

Regardless of domestic politics and campaign considerations, the real question Israelis should ask themselves is not what is favoured by Washington and why, but what should be favoured by Israel. Feelings of gratitude cannot and should not disguise the fact that, from the American point of view, peace between Israel and its neighbours is just another issue of foreign relations, while for Israel it is a vital issue, a matter of life and death.

As long as the prime minister continues with his rejectionism of an international peace conference, the contradiction between his position and the ritual commitment to peace cannot be resolved, argues ARYE NAOR

The high sensitivity Shamir and his followers show to the process of negotiating peace is only a sample of the sensitivity they will show to the conditions of peace, once negotiations start in spite of the obstacles.

When it comes to the point of decision, Shamir will not base his opinion on American interests. "Sixty years I have been fighting for our principles," he told a group of Herut veterans. "I shall not relinquish any of them."

THE CONDITIONS of peace are a very serious matter, where principles should be applied, but not, of course, as a substitute for realism. Taking ideology seriously, Shamir would not trade the conditions of peace for U.S. positions. But when it comes to peace itself, he acts as if he were under U.S. compulsion. The moment he feels free of American pressure, he takes shelter in his passive approach, which leads to freezing the situation.

Comparing his dedication to procedural principles with his reluctance to embark on negotiations, one can hardly escape the conclusion that in Shamir's eyes, having peace is less important than the method of negotiating it; and that

means that achieving peace is not his top priority.

As former U.S. president Jimmy Carter noted, Shamir believes that "the roots of most of the conflicts in the Middle East have nothing to do with Israel and that a solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict is not likely to lead to regional stability or to open a new era of progress."

Perhaps this is the watershed that separates Shamir from his predecessors: they all valued peace much more than he does. Not that he doesn't want peace. He does. But he is ready to make peace with the Arabs provided they accept Israel's conditions, and all his predecessors — Ben-Gurion, Sharett, Eshkol, Meir, Rabin, Begin and Peres — were ready to accept some Arab conditions in order to achieve peace.

IT IS A question of both procedure and substance. Shamir's stubbornness with regard to an international conference is a reflection of his convictions about the necessity for making peace on one hand and the price to be paid for peace on the other. According to his vision, the status quo can continue for ever. Israel is in no hurry and time is on its side.

Hence his reluctance to negotiate and his insistence on procedural conditions. From such a perspective, the real disadvantage of an international peace conference is not the procedure, but the prospect that anything substantial can come from it.

That was the reason, beyond propaganda, for his cheerful reaction to the statement attributed to Carlucci. It corresponds with previous declarations against the conference. Catastrophe, disaster, tragedy and madness are just a few of the apophthegms he has applied to it. On his last visit to Washington he changed the terminology a little: he called the conference "a silly way of making peace."

The prime minister needs to be reminded that there is no silly way of making peace, but that there are some silly ways of leading to an unnecessary war. There is no real reason to rejoice in the Carlucci forecast. On the contrary, in the wake of progress towards peace there might be a danger of deterioration.

The international conference has disadvantages of its own. Nevertheless, it is the only way to start a process of negotiation. There is no realistic alternative capable of leading to results. As long as Shamir continues with his rejectionism, the contradiction between his position and the ritual commitment to peace cannot be resolved.

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Gibraltar Jews, a Golden Age on the Rock

David Landau

AS IN MOST SYNAGOGUES, the gossip in Nefusot Yehudah centres on whether the man sitting in the front row will run for office yet again.

But in Nefusot Yehudah, the office in question is not that of *gabbai* (or *parnas*, as it is called there), but of chief minister of the government.

An Israeli reporter visiting recently was reluctant to trespass on the special Shabbat ambience by asking Sir Joshua Hassan straight out. Next morning, however, at the delectable Jewish patisserie round the corner, he seemed to have his answer. The chief minister, dapper in Sunday cravat and tweeds, amiably kissed each of the shop-girls as they wrapped his bread and cakes. A bodyguard, dour and discreet, followed him out.

But Gibraltar's politics are apparently not so easily deciphered. The shop-girls, quite unfazed, made it clear to the newsmen that they expect the weekly blessing to continue, whether or not Sir Joshua decides to prolong his 30-year rule over The Rock. They simply like him.

Everybody seems to like everybody in Gibraltar, which makes it such a pleasant place to visit — and to live in too, despite its minute size.

On Shabbat morning, after services have ended at the four (!) synagogues and the youth *minyán* at the Jewish school, the entire Jewish community (about 600 souls) seems to be out on Main Street, strolling up and down, exchanging smiles and small-talk with their gentle friends.

At The Convent, the official residence of the British governor, they might pause to inspect the solitary guard, marching up and down in his mirror-polished boots.

Rachel Benissio, whose husband Abraham is a *hazan* famous throughout the Sephardi world, remembers when her son Isaac was in the army (the Gibraltar Regiment) and took his turn standing guard there. She would bring him a pot of

steaming *hamin* to the guardroom across the street.

GIBRALTAR is unique in many ways. A last bastion, literally and metaphorically, of the Empire, the Royal Navy and the British Army still stand guard there over the entrance to the Mediterranean. On Main Street, Marks & Spencer and British Home Stores ensure that this corner of the Continent shall be forever England.

Housewives hop across the border to La Linea for shopping, and rich men's yachts ply casually from Gibraltar's fine marina to the jet-set playground of Marbella, on the Costa del Sol. But political relations are still sometimes tense, and the 25,000-odd Gibraltarians are fierce in their allegiance to London.

For the Jewish traveller, plying the famous cities of southern Spain in search of the Golden Age, Gibraltar's uniqueness lies in the special atmosphere of coexistence of which the Jewish community is so proud, and in which it has flourished for centuries.

A visit to Cordoba, birthplace of Maimonides, to Seville with its massive cathedral, and to the Alhambra in Granada is a feast for the eye, but a strain on the imagination. The remarkable rivalry and interplay of the Moorish and the Christian cultures are clear — in the architecture, in the gardens and museums. But of the great flowering of Jewish life, so fully attested in extant literature, almost nothing tangible remains.

The great Alhambra itself, the guide-book tells us, was originally built by a Jewish minister as his own palace. Centuries later, Ferdinand and Isabella, "the Catholic monarchs," set in the breathtakingly beautiful edifice and turned a deaf ear to Ibn Isaac Abarbanel's pleas.

He and his whole community were banished from Spain, and from the society in which they and their forebears had been totally integrated — culturally, economically and

politically — while totally preserving their identity as Jews. This fusion was probably unique in the Diaspora experience. Even in America today it is arguably not yet matched.

Wandering through the Juderia of Seville or the single surviving (unused) synagogue in Cordoba, it is difficult to conjure up those centuries of Jewish vitality and mutually enriching coexistence with the wider world.

GIBRALTAR, in its own tiny way, can help. Not just because the popular chief minister happens to be Jewish, or the mayor, or the head of the Bar, or the chairman of the Chamber of Commerce. But also because the Jewish shops on Main Street are all closed on Shabbat and festivals, and that seems perfectly natural to everyone. Because the Israeli flag flies from the honorary consul's office from sunset Friday to nightfall Saturday.

Because the Catholic archbishop attends a *brít* and the governor attends synagogue on Hanukkah. Because in order to ascertain the extent of the *eruv*, the visitor need

only ask Inspector Moses Bengio of the Gibraltar police, whom he will encounter in the kosher-goods shop, just opposite the cathedral. Because a leader of the local British Legion is Capt. (Ret.) Solomon Levy, whose booming bass rings out at services at the Abudarham Synagogue.

Capt. Levy, until his recent retirement from the local Territorials, commanded the massive naval guns that look out over the Straits. They were fired on the queen's birthday — always officially celebrated on a Saturday — until Sir Joshua persuaded Capt. Levy that the cost in broken window-panes was too high.

The captain had asked a *she'ela* about firing on the Sabbath. "What's your job?" the rabbi asked. "I shout 'Fire'." "No problem then," was the *psak*.

But the guns are at the top of the Rock and Levy, in his dress uniform, had to march up there. His troop, gentiles all, could have driven. But they insisted, each year, on marching up with him.

LEVY'S BROTHER, James is president of the Gibraltar Jewish com-



Sir Joshua Hassan

Safeguarding the rule of law

David Krivine

THE CIVIL RIGHTS Movement (CRM) tabled a bill in the Knesset last month which proposes to give the Declaration of Independence the force of law. Mordechai Virshubski attributes his faction's initiative to a serious decline in the country's political standards, putting the rule of law in question.

The bill requires the maintenance of equal rights in Israel, regardless of religion, race or sex. This principle, spelled out in 1948 by what Ben-Gurion called the foundation scroll of the state of Israel, was later reaffirmed at a ceremony before President Herzog on the occasion of Israel's 40th anniversary. Yet it is systematically abused according to Virshubski — and mainly on two fronts.

The first is the religious front. The religious factions see Israel as a strictly Jewish state, subject to rabbinical law. The existing electoral system gives them a decisive voice, though they constitute a bare 10 per cent of the Knesset. Two other bills on human rights are under parliamentary consideration, and they will have to embody elements of Halacha whether the sponsors like it or not.

The modifications will have an anti-democratic flavour, because the Talmudic tradition is inegalitarian on all three issues in the CRM's bill: religion, race and sex. Halacha discriminates against women, and it discriminates against strangers — strangers meaning, in the Israel of today, Arabs. They are afforded in principle all possible rights, but not full equality.

"We all saw what happened to the law forbidding racial incitement," he observes. "The religious parties introduced two amendments which effectively sterilized this piece of legislation. One laid down that any quotation deriving from Holy Writ shall not be considered incitement whatever its content."

The other amendment modifies the ban on racist acts or pronouncements by requiring that there be proof of intention to incite, which goes a long way to neutralizing the measure.

"Not surprisingly Mapam and the CRM voted against the measure, whilst Meir Kahane — against whom it was intended — voted for."

"All this leads to things like the Nakash scandal." The extradition of William Nakash to France on a charge of murdering an Arab was held up by what was, in fact, a refusal by the religious parties to surrender a Jew into the hands of the Gentiles.



Mordechai Virshubski with framed copies of the Declaration of Independence — in Hebrew and Arabic. (Hanoth Githmann)

"Religious politicians are logical and reasonable about everything except matters subject to a religious ruling. Their opposition to the construction of the Mormon university in Jerusalem is a case in point. What if the Christians of America refused to tolerate the existence of Yeshiva University?"

"The Orthodox do not recognize this *quid pro quo* aspect. The principle of equality is for them subordinate to the principle of obedience to Halacha."

"Yet equality is a basic provision in the Declaration of Independence, which also contains another provision charging the first Knesset to adopt a constitution. But that would necessitate a definition of human rights and the fact of the matter is that no constitution has been enacted in Israel to this day."

He adds: "It may be just as well. Any constitution adopted by the present administration would in all likelihood institutionalize a number of inequitable policies, making the situation worse than it is already."

The obstacle presented by Orthodox derives from the monopoly power that has fallen into their hands, at the expense of the Conservative and Reform movements. Untrammelled by coalition discipline, Virshubski has prepared another progressive-minded bill granting equality to all three Jewish religious trends. He will present it to the Knesset at a carefully chosen time: during the coming Zionist Congress.

community. He is a senior partner in Sir Joshua Hassan's law office. He is also active with accountant Moses Gerson and other businessmen in Gibraltar's flourishing new enterprise as an "offshore" financial centre. People say he is tempted to stand in the next elections, that he could one day become chief minister too.

Like his brother, James loves Gibraltar passionately. But he is torn, he says, and may soon move away — because there is no Jewish high-school.

He himself went to a local monastery school, where the monks, he recalls, would cut down branches for the Jewish children to take home for their succor. His education imbued him with the fusion of Jewish piety and secular worldliness that is the hallmark of Gibraltar's Jewry. Yet he feels he can no longer sustain it and transmit it to his growing children. He has already sent his eldest daughter off to an Orthodox grammar-school in London.

The community would be truly sorry to see him go. Partly to keep him and others like him from leaving, they are considering the idea of founding a *kollel*, so that learned young men would come and live on the Rock, and teach the younger generation.

"But they would have to be men with a *smile*," Levy himself warns. "No extremism can succeed here..."

He says the children of today are somehow less comfortable with the gentiles than he and his generation are. He bemoans it — yet he recognizes that it is a manifestation of that type of xenophobia in modern Orthodoxy that has been reincarnated from the ashes of Eastern Europe and now sets the tone among Orthodox Ashkenazim and Sephardim the world over, including in Israel.

It is the antithesis of the "Golden Age of Spain" and it threatens to dull the special brilliance of the gem that is Jewish Gibraltar.

'I write because I don't understand'

David Krivine

ALAIN ROBBE-GRILLET, outstanding French writer of books and films, analysed at an international symposium at Bar-Ilan University last week the nature of the *roman nouveau*, the new novel, of which he is one of the chief protagonists.

Just before this meeting I had read one of these works, *La Maison de Rendez-Vous*, and found it fascinating but incomprehensible. Scenes occur and recur repeatedly, each time slightly differently, giving an impression of pictorial depth or 3D.

Robbe-Grillet explained to the audience that books in the past (Balzac's novels, for example) were based on certitude. The author knew his ground, he wrote about a world he understood. The 20th-century novelist knows nothing, he said. "I write because I don't understand."

To Balzac, the universe was rational, so people and objects were predictable. Nowadays, things are not rational any more.

They have become interesting in a new way. The unexpected can be startling. Novelists of the modern school (who first made their presence felt in the 1950s) probe these matters, they explore a world which to them is mysterious.

"Gustave Flaubert in *Madame Bovary* dwells for a long time in one passage on a cap worn by a boy called Charles. The cap was unusual in its design and rather elaborate, therefore puzzling to the author (Flaubert); it does not fit into the flow of a story that is otherwise rational."

"It was that cap," Robbe-Grillet concluded, which launched the 20th-century novel."

HE WAS 17 when World War II broke out. His family was nationalistic, xenophobic — and anti-Semitic. They liked order, and fascism was the embodiment of order. The Jews represented a derelict liberalism.

"I swallowed their belief. I spent time in Germany, having been mobilized for compulsory work there. I found the people around me to be indeed clean, tidy, smiling, polite. They seemed to be everything his parents had said, until he discovered — traumatically for him — that this disciplined "order" was nothing but a cover for sadistic follies of a monstrous kind.

After the war he studied agriculture and biology. He spent years in the tropics: "I became an expert in diseases of the banana," he grins. Suddenly he felt the need to write. "My books didn't sell for the first 10 years, but it didn't matter. I was writing for myself."

Since then his novels have brought him fame and are widely discussed. They include *Les Gommes* (his first), *Le Voyeur* and *La Jalousie*. Among his films is *The Last Year in Marienbad*.



Alain Robbe-Grillet

SPEAKING TO *The Jerusalem Post* after his lecture, Robbe-Grillet said he did not publicize his political opinions. Authors should not be seen as moralists — unless they are *engagés*, like Sartre.

"Novelists are not necessarily moral persons," he declared. "Celine [a fanatical anti-Jew] 'was a great novelist' — but a swine. Jorge Luis Borges was a pronounced right-winger, yet wrote brilliantly."

"A writer is concerned with his books. I'm a great opponent of the idea that because one writes for the public, one must give voice to weighty views on all the urgent and immediate political problems."

Has he political opinions all the same? "I have, but find it hard to discover a political party that will accommodate them. My parents' ideology led to genocide. That cooled me off," he confessed wryly.

Robbe-Grillet has been to Israel before, but will not be drawn into controversy over this country's problems.

"I will however risk saying one thing if," he gestured to the people around him, "none of you objects. I am not fond of regimes based on religion. Herzl didn't advocate a religious state, did he? I'm sure he was a secularist."

He admires the Jewish universalist spirit. But does it not cause anti-Semitism — even inside his own family?

That, he stresses, was in the past. He dismisses the terrible war years as a phase that does not have to recur. "You shouldn't exaggerate international anti-Semitism," he beseeches.

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When profit and loss don't count

The radio and TV strike cost the Israel Broadcasting Authority NIS 28 million, enough to complete the Nahal Ayalon rail link, held up for lack of a quarter of that sum.

Yet nobody gives a damn. How much are current medical service sanctions costing Kupat Holim? It matters so little that nobody even knows; and this is where the problem lies.

The problem is that cost is the last consideration, though it should be the first. Under normal conditions, in a profit-and-loss economy, cost is the only criterion that all have to abide by. If a strike-bound business suffers a crippling deficit, it closes down. Its work dispute is settled once and for all by the detestation of both disputing parties.

That sets a limit to wage claims. What other test is there to determine how much employees should earn? Government journalists (those employed by the IBA) want equality with journalists in the private sector. They do not want equality with their fellow-civil servants;

take place in organizations which are immune to profit-and-loss considerations, because they are owned or (for some reason) supported by the state or by a major public institution like the Histadrut.

Where did the country's work disputes take place during the last six weeks? In the IBA. Kupat Holim and the Ports Authority. The costs were prohibitive (in the case of the Ports Authority they included a loss of foreign currency), yet not one of these employers was seriously affected. They go on operating as before. They do not pick up the tab.

This sounds like an argument for privatization, and there are many who would object to such a policy on ideological grounds. Fortunately, it is not necessary to go that far. Kupat Holim can remain in the possession of the Histadrut. All that is needed is a change in the type of ownership.

Kupat Holim should become a holding company like Koor Industries. Every hospital and other sizeable medical institution would be

David Krivine

what they want is equality with those who earn more.

So do, as the finance minister knows all too well, those same fellow-civil servants. They will demand parity with government journalists or whoever else steps out of line; and the same applies in the medical field. If the doctors get more, the other occupation groups in Kupat Holim will require a corresponding increase.

Well, how much should all the different claimants get? There is no limit, as long as cost does not matter. The nurses managed to reduce their working week from 40 to 36 hours, not because they want to work only 36 hours but because they want the last four hours to be overtime.

Now they apply work-to-rule for something else: they want more than the regulation 50 per cent extra for their overtime. Should they get their way, that will set a new norm. The rule among trade unionists is the pursuit of equality, but equality with those who get more.

This is logical. If the nurses are granted 100 per cent or 200 per cent extra pay for overtime, why should everybody else content themselves with 50 per cent?

So the spiral goes up. The process can only be stopped by imposing on the public sector the criterion that works so well in the private sector, where it has managed to ensure a remarkable degree of industrial peace: the criterion of profit-and-loss.

NEARLY ALL the work stoppages that paralyze, for a shorter or longer period, the country's economic life

run by a business company, whose shares are owned by Kupat Holim.

Each of these companies produces its own yearly balance-sheet. If it makes a profit, it may decide to raise wages. The subject is a matter for negotiation between management and staff, without interference from the Treasury, the Histadrut or any other outside agency.

The company can charge its patients a fee. The decision is its own to make, taking into account that patients are free to patronize the hospital or clinic which charges least, even if it is situated some distance away.

If one of the companies loses heavily, it is declared bankrupt. The institution is closed down and the staff dismissed. It is re-opened after a decent interval under new management, albeit still under Kupat Holim ownership. Is such a closure shocking?

Nobody knows how much the recent partial paralysis costs in cash and human discomfort because nobody, as stated above, cares. Profit and loss are not a factor. Therefore, the people in charge, both management and labour and all the governmental and trade union superstructure above them, can squander resources to their heart's content.

If defenders of the status quo, like Knesset Member Yair Tsaaban, can find an alternative method of eliminating this macro-bureaucracy (macro because it includes the scourge of pointless labour disputes which play havoc with the health service), they have not made it known to date and the public would be eager to hear what they have to say.

WHEN Finance Minister Moshe Nissim submitted next year's state budget proposal to the cabinet he said that the budget's main thrust was a continuation of economic stability. He added that during 1988 there would be no "election economics." The term did not exist for him, he said.

But a careful analysis of the budget shows that it is, in fact, a very political document, outlining Nissim's political, as well as economic, strategy.

The budget's stated objective is a lower inflation rate in 1988. Since inflation is expected to total some 15 to 16 per cent this year, a rate of 10 to 11 per cent would seem a sign of success, enhancing Nissim's political standing during the coming election year.

But a closer look at the figures reveals that a 10 per cent inflation rate would not mean a major reduction in inflation, since the economy has been hovering at that figure for some months. True, the Consumer Price Index has climbed by 12.9 per cent since the beginning of the year. That figure, however, is misleading, the effect on prices of the 10 per cent devaluation of the shekel on January 13. A truer picture emerges from the inflation figures since May. They show that over the last six months the CPI rose by about 5.5 per cent, which translates into an annual rate of inflation of around 11 per cent.

Thus, simply by not making waves — by not doing more than is essential — Nissim can limit himself to his 1987 achievements. This does not mean that the minister has not worked hard, but that he wants to keep some achievements "in reserve" for use when it suits him best.

MOREOVER, Nissim has said that next year's budget contains no reserves and that, therefore, his proposed NIS 755 million slash is essential. Close scrutiny of the budget shows that such reserves do exist, one proof being the amount allocated for bank share payments. It is unclear whether the required sum

Nissim plays it safe

will be NIS 6.4 billion at 1987 prices, as stated in the budget proposal. It is, in fact, more than likely that a much smaller sum will be needed, as happened this year when the money for repayment of internal debts totalled NIS 8.7b, instead of the NIS 9.4b, set aside in the budget.

The reason for this is that the sums needed for bank shares are determined by the shekel's rate of exchange. If this remains stable, or if devaluation is relatively low, the money needed by the Treasury will be much less than the NIS 6.4b. proposed.

Reserves such as these will provide Nissim with ample room for maneuvering during the approaching battle over cuts within the cabinet and the Knesset. He will be able to "give in" on certain points, without incurring any real damage. He will be able to fight for the cuts, knowing that he has sufficiently large reserves behind him.

A similar point can be made about foreign currency reserves. By the end of last month they stood at an unprecedented height — \$5.3 billion — which allows Nissim to decide whether and when to devalue the shekel, without the pressure of a foreign currency crisis.

Economic observers and government officials agree that the deadline for a devaluation of the shekel is the end of January. After that, the probability of Nissim risking higher inflation rates, triggered by devaluation, would decrease.

The minister's devaluation decision hinges on the willingness of the Histadrut's Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar to collaborate and agree to a change in Cost of Living allowance arrangements, or to a reduction in the compensation allowed to workers for the con-

Finance Minister Nissim says he won't allow political factors to influence his budget but the indications are otherwise. AVI TEMKIN reports.

sequent price increases. If Kessar refuses to go along, Nissim will probably postpone devaluation.

This will probably mean keeping interest at a very high rate, a proved means of protecting foreign currency reserves. High interest rates would cause hardship to industry and agriculture, and discourage economic growth. But the budget is not meant to encourage growth. It will be the price of the "no waves" climate which Nissim wants to maintain for a few more months.

THE "NOT making waves" policy will also be reflected in a marked slow-down in the pace of implementation of the three major reforms initiated by Nissim this year. The tax reform, capital market liberalization and privatization drives will all slack off; some aspects will be frozen, and the pace of others will be reduced.

To continue the tax reform started this year, Nissim would need to implement the forthcoming recommendations of the Sheshinski committee. These recommendations, however, are expected no earlier than January which would leave very little time for the legislative work involved in implementing recommendations. What is more important, if Professor

Eitan Sheshinski and his colleagues produce the type of report expected, is that implementation of the recommendations would mean scrapping tax exemptions on training funds (*kravot hishulim*) and provident funds — something the Histadrut cannot agree to.

Since Nissim will need the consent of the labour federation to change the Cost of Living allowance arrangement, an essential ingredient in keeping inflation low, it is highly unlikely that he would be willing to provoke the federation's anger on the tax exemptions front. The tax reform will have to wait.

The same can be said of the liberalization of the capital market. The Histadrut and pension funds that are linked to it oppose such a move, since it would mean that they would be no longer able to profit from the no-risk type of government bonds they obtain from the government. Instead, they would be forced to purchase bonds issued by private bodies. Last year Kessar gave his consent for a package deal, on condition that the Treasury dropped such plans. There is nothing to indicate that any new accord with the Treasury would be different.

The prospects for the privatization drive seem no brighter. The American investment bank, First Boston, is due to produce its recommendations in the summer, close to the elections. Any statements on privatization will probably be made during the Likud's election campaign — any action will be far from evident.

The bottom line of the budget is not encouraging. The Treasury is apparently so frightened about the elections, that it wants to safeguard one central achievement at all costs — the low inflation rate. All other objectives, it has decided, will be put on hold until a more propitious date.

The implication is that 1988 will be a lost year from the point of view of economic policy. Once the elections are over, it will be time to try again; whether it will be possible is a different question.

Knesset unknown is farmers' champion

THE YUPPIES strolling along Dizengoff Street would probably shrug in ignorance of his name, but the Alignment's Ephraim Shalom does not care. He has a defined and substantial constituency and down on the farms of the Negev, Galilee, and the Sharon — wherever there are moshavim — his is a name that counts, for his is the voice of the moshavnik in the Knesset.

The yuppies are not the only ones likely to be ignorant of Shalom's doings. Television viewers watching the antics in the plenum will seldom see him waving his arms from the rostrum or shouting down a speaker from the back benches. Shalom is not a plenum man, and not even his best friends would describe him as charismatic. But many of the hard-nosed members of the Finance Committee, and even journalists covering economic affairs, tell a somewhat different story.

Shalom, the seemingly grey anti-hero, is a self-taught expert in agricultural economics and in the tortuous ramifications of the moshav movement. When the Finance Committee deals with the woes of the farming sector, the normally mild-mannered MK from Beit Ezra, an obscure moshav that nestles on the coast somewhere between Ashdod and Ashkelon, can argue obstinately and above all knowledgeably. In a committee where the cards have often been stacked against the predominantly Labour-oriented agricultural sector, Shalom, who perhaps not always wisely, eschews demagoguery, is a force to be reckoned with.

Ephraim Shalom was born in Iraq in 1934 but went to school in Iran before his family came here in 1950. Their immigration was the natural outcome of a passionate Zionism that had already forced Shalom's father to flee from Iraq when his activities in the Zionist underground, smuggling Jews to pre-state Palestine, drew the unwelcome attention of the Iraqi authorities.

"I enjoy the best of both worlds," says Shalom when asked whether he sees himself as a member of the Iraqi or Persian Jewish communities. "But while I'm at home in Iranian culture, most of our customs at home are Iraqi — and, yes, I did choose a woman from an Iraqi background as my wife."

The Shaloms and a group of other new immigrants from Iraq who had been connected with the "illegal" immigration movement founded Beit Ezra in 1950, just two months after their arrival in Israel. Young Shalom, one of five sons and two daughters, went to an agricultural school, entered the Nahal and spent some time in Kibbutz Ein Gev during his army service.

But the members of Beit Ezra had their eyes on him. No sooner was he demobilized than they asked him to serve as the moshav's farm manager. That was the start of a career in public service that culminated in his election to the Knesset in 1984 as Labour's Moshav Movement representative.

In an aside on his political affiliation, Shalom says that he resents the Likud's arrogating to itself the role of "spiritual patron of the Sephardim."

Labour, he points out, has done more than any party which is not deliberately out to represent a sectorial interest to advance Sephardim

in the Knesset. "There are 11 of us to the Likud's eight. If we can provide the right candidates, Labour is wide open to Sephardim. But I prefer to get in on my own merits. That's the way Labour wants it, and I'm proud it takes that stand: I just don't like the image Labour has. It's all wrong."

IN THE 30 years following his debut as a 20-year-old administrator, Shalom filled almost every role in the Moshav Movement, moving steadily from the local to the regional and eventually the national level, and becoming Moshav Movement secretary in 1981.

Yet he insists that he is also a farmer. He has a citrus grove in Beit Ezra and his wife tends the family's poultry house, with some help from him when he can manage the time. The citrus grove, he says, does not require full-time attention and one of his brothers helps him out.

Shalom does not see himself primarily as a party politician, but rather as a "doer," though he makes no bones about enjoying the Knesset and wants at least one more term there.

Somewhat naively, he says he would like to see a Knesset in which "national interests override narrow political considerations." And for him, agriculture is an overriding national interest.

But there is nothing naive about his statement that "everything in the end boils down to money, and that's why I concentrate on the Knesset Finance and Economic Committees. Even so-called voluntary activities have to be financed," he chuckles.

And that consciousness of the value of money, which is perhaps characteristic of the Iraqi Jewish community, makes him anything but soft on the big spenders. The suit has to be cut according to the cloth otherwise the wearer will soon be naked, he argues. And that is why Moshav Beit Ezra belongs to the minority — about one third — of the moshavim that are not in dire financial straits.

When agriculture ran into really big trouble — something that Shalom blames on the Likud government's rise to power in 1977 and on then-agriculture minister Ariel Sharon's grandiloquent schemes for an unrestrained and over-rapid agricultural expansion that outstripped the state budget — Beit Ezra decided to deal firmly with the moshav's admittedly few trouble spots.

"There were some members, not many, who had run up debts — not on villas or cars or high living, for we never authorized borrowing for anything other than capital investment, but on just that over-rapid expansion that ruined the agricultural sector. They were told, and even pressured, to capitalize their assets. We even made people break into savings schemes they had set up for their children, and ask family members outside the moshav to chip in and bail them out."

"Some few who had nothing at all beyond their debts were pushed into leaving and paying back by selling their farms. The newcomers who joined us as a result of that started off free of debt and were never allowed to get into the mess. In just a few other cases, we did arrange bank loans guaranteed by our regional moshav association and by our own members."

"Some debts were cancelled and the money owed was debited to ev-



MK Ephraim Shalom

Ephraim Shalom has become the voice of the moshavniks. He believes the agricultural crisis is still far from over

everyone in the moshav. It wasn't always a very popular move, but the minority of those who objected had to go along with the majority of members voting at the moshav general meeting. That's democracy as I understand it. Those are our rules."

Many of the moshav's members or their families also work outside Beit Ezra, helping with the money earned in the city and with time that they give to the family farm in the afternoons. "That's much cheaper than employing outside labour," Shalom says.

JUST WHY Beit Ezra managed to take these firm steps and withstand the storm is not something Shalom can pin down to any one factor. The moshav is no longer homogeneously Iraqi. The original settlers and their families are no more than about 65 per cent of its membership.

He does note that the leadership today is in the hands of the young members, some of them university

trained, many of them used to responsibility after having been officers, even senior commanders, in the IDF. The last moshav elections saw them take over 80 per cent of the seats on the management committee.

He says that his position in the moshav movement — his *protektzia* — was not crucial in keeping Beit Ezra solvent. "When the taps are being turned off for everyone, then no amount of personal connections can help."

He also says that "relations between Beit Ezra members are fairly good. We have a synagogue. Some members attend, others don't. The kids play football on the sports ground while the services are on, and nobody complains. Some work on Shabbat, others don't, but they don't mind those who do. There's no tension on that score."

Shalom, however, has spent many tense months in the Knesset. The still parlous state of the country's agricultural sector perturbs him deeply.

He explains the vicious circle that began with Sharon who "failed to

deliver budgetary funds to cover expansion. Farmers who concentrated on export then ran into complications in the European markets, became further embroiled as they took loans to finance not just their own products but the ramified structure of packing plants, fodder and fertilizer plants, marketing facilities and the like, and then found themselves abandoned as the government changed course, cut subsidies, and established new priorities that pushed agriculture to the sidelines."

Some of the blame, he admits, must also be laid at the door of the leaders of the moshav movement who did not see what was happening and take action in time.

What he omits to say is that the agricultural lobby, by no means the weakest in the Knesset, also failed to act and use its influence effectively.

The failure of the lobby is seized on by some Knesset observers to argue that what the legislature needs is more unknown soldiers like Shalom who openly concentrate all their energies on one sector. They do not meddle in other issues: Shalom, for example, though he describes himself as a hawk in foreign policy, is seldom heard on this topic.

But other observers note that despite his undoubted expertise, his quiet personality made it impossible for him to dramatize the plight of the moshavim in a manner that would have caught the public's imagination and goaded the Finance Committee into quicker action. That, of course, will be for his constituency to judge when he faces re-election by the Labour Party for the 1988 elections.

The Ravid Committee's report, which is only now, after "unconscionable delays," about to be implemented in part, will do something to save the country's agriculture, but the delay has already seen once relatively debt-free moshavim become debtors, and has devalued the vast sums that were earmarked to help, Shalom argues.

Of the NIS 424 million of moshav debts that are to be wiped from the slate, the banks are to absorb NIS 158m. "And they're going to have to absorb that loss," Shalom says grimly. "If they don't, then they won't get a penny piece of the much greater sum that they're owed."

REGIONAL committees began operating only last week, hauling before them each of the debtor moshavim, insisting on member participation in clearing the debts and arranging for a rescheduling of payments. It is a very complicated, painstaking, painful and time-consuming job, in which no two cases are alike.

The plan offers a maximum of 20 years rescheduling. But clearly not all moshav members will be able to meet that requirement.

For those who cannot, and their number is likely to top 4,000 settlers by the time the committees conclude their work in another three years, the Ravid recommendations spell an end to farming.

Shalom sheds no tears on that score.

No one will be left homeless, he says. But they will have their land and water allocation taken away, and they will be forced to seek work outside the moshav.

(Though he doesn't make the

point, that move will also stop failing moshav farmers leasing their land to Arab cultivators, a practice as widespread as it is illegal.)

Beit Ezra's method of dealing with its own debtors is being copied on a national scale.

"Of course it hurts. I belong to a movement that exists to settle people on the land, not to dispossess them. But this is the only way."

Shalom does not believe, as some people do, that the banks have come out of the Ravid arrangement better off than they deserve. They have had to shoulder considerable loss, they will not to receive government guarantees for the money being loaned now to the moshavim, and they have had to put some of their own money on the line at lower interest than the Treasury wanted to grant them. "But the banks are the major creditors, and they have to be repaid some of their money. To mix up the agricultural debt with the bank shares scandal, and to try to get one's revenge for that by making them absorb the entire agricultural loss would serve no purpose," Shalom insists.

The final version of the Ravid recommendations, is "the least of all possible evils. For some people, about 18 to 20 per cent of the moshav population, they are too little, too late. This is the best I and my colleagues could do given the circumstances of a government that insists on remaining within the bounds of its budget." And given Shalom's own philosophy he can hardly object to that.

Israeli agriculture will be slumped down considerably as a result of the current reorganization. A considerable body of moshavim, mostly in the centre of the country from Haifa to Kiryat Gat, will become rural centres rather than farming units. But those that are left will be better off, and their future rosier, Shalom believes.

The crisis in agriculture, he says, is still far from over. The dire phrase will continue to echo in the corridors of the Knesset during the long agony of the implementation of the Ravid recommendations. And the shouting will grow louder still when the kibbutz crisis — which he believes may prove infinitely more serious — hits the headlines.

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Won't wait for government

Banks to bail out moshavim alone

By AVI TEMKIN

Post Economic Reporter

In an unprecedented step, Bank Hapoalim and Bank Leumi announced yesterday they would take unilateral action to implement a debt-rescheduling scheme for the moshavim and would no longer wait for the government to approve a plan.

According to sources in the banking system, Leumi and Hapoalim felt there was little point in waiting for the authorities to make up their mind on the conditions under which the bail out scheme would be put in action. The government has been groping for over a year for an acceptable way to rescue the deeply indebted moshavim. A final agreement has been delayed for a variety of reasons.

The two banks said they would put into action a plan based on the report produced by the Ravid committee, which had produced bail-out plans for the moshavim earlier this year, and the amendments introduced later on by the Knesset Finance Committee.

The implementation of the plan

without the government's participation will mean that the moshavim have to pay a relatively high long-term rate of interest on the rescheduled debt, since the money needed to finance the scheme will be raised in the capital market, rather than from government funds. In addition the banks' scheme will cover only 70 per cent of the moshavim. Those settlements in the most severe financial straits, such as those on the northern border, will be left out. They will have to wait for the government to come to their rescue.

A spokesman for Bank Hapoalim said yesterday the two banks had informed the Agriculture Ministry of their intentions to go ahead unilaterally. He added, however, that the banks were not entirely abandoning any idea of the government playing a role.

He said the banks would propose to the government and the Jewish Agency that they join them on the basis of the principles laid down by the Ravid committee. But until the authorities agree, if they do, the financing will be done entirely by the banks, the spokesman said.

Despite smaller project's cancellation

40-story tower to be built in Ramat Gan

By KEN SCHACHTER

For The Jerusalem Post

TEL AVIV. — A Ramat Gan building said yesterday that contracts will be signed later this month to construct a \$70 million, 40-story tower for diamond-exchange offices despite the cancellation Sunday of plans to devote a smaller building to cutters and polishers.

Moshe Aviv, president of Aviv Partners Ltd., said he had exercised an option allowing him to withdraw from a contract with the diamond manufacturers if cutters and polishers hadn't bought 75 per cent of the building's space in advance.

The 14-story building near the Israel Diamond Centre won't be scrapped, Aviv said, but will be devoted to office space "on the open market." Since his decision to alter the nature of the project, he said, the company has received commitments for 50 per cent of the building's space.

Meanwhile, the 40-story tower, to be one of the tallest in the Middle East, is reaching the end of the design stage, Aviv said. Agreement with the Israel Diamond Centre will clear the way for more than 300 potential occupants on a waiting list to sign contracts at \$2,650 per square metre, \$1,000 more than the price at the smaller building, he added.

The new tower will be linked to the two current diamond bourse high-rises, each about 20 stories; 15,000 square metres in the tower will be available for commercial space and 35,000 square metres for offices. There will be 1,400 parking spaces. An official announcement will be made toward the middle of this month, he said.

A diamond industry source, who asked not to be named, said the plan to devote an entire 14-story building to cutters and polishers was based on consolidating security functions and thereby lowering insurance premiums. The price per square metre of office space in area's reserved by the diamond industry fluctuates with the outside market but also is affected by trends in the diamond business itself.

"The concept is still considered sound," he said. "But the actual signing of contracts happened at about the same time the stock market crashed. Psychologically, people may have been put off by it."

Indeed, Aviv said, although this building won't be devoted to diamond processors, he may collaborate with them on a future building.

Meanwhile, the diamond industry source said, imports of rough stones remains high, a key indicator of the industry's confidence.

BUSINESS BRIEFS

Chemical exports may hit \$950m.

Israel's chemical exports are expected to reach \$950 million this year, Trade and Industry Ministry Director-General Yoram Belzovsky said this week. And if there had been no strikes by dockworkers this year, the figure might have reached \$1 billion, he said.

The first half of 1987 showed a 15 per cent increase in exports over a year ago, but exports rose so sharply in the next four months that by the end of October the year-on-year increase had risen to 22 per cent. Belzovsky said he based his \$950m. figure on the assumption the upward trend would continue.

He added that the greatest growth was in the export of crude petrochemicals, which has risen over 50 per cent within the last 10 months. Minerals exports, particularly potash and phosphates, had also grown measured by quantity in the first 10 months, reaching \$230 million. But Belzovsky noted that prices in this sector were weak and export income lagged.

Leumi property sale

Bank Leumi said Wednesday it had completed the sale of 12 properties during October and November for a total of NIS 8.5 million.

The biggest of the transactions,

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Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies Discussion Forum

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Dr. Baruch Knei-Paz and Dr. Mordechai Nisan

Dept. of Political Science, Hebrew University

MON., DEC. 7, 1987 at 8 p.m. Ramada Renaissance Hotel, Jerusalem

Entrance: NIS 10, including refreshments. Tel. 02-638355, 638176

West Germany cuts interest rate

LONDON (Reuters). — The dollar jumped in response to a long-hoped-for reduction in the key West German interest rate yesterday, which was immediately followed by similar reductions in the French and Dutch rates. British commercial banks also cut their base lending rate.

The West German central bank, the Bundesbank, cut its discount rate by half a percentage point to a record low 2.5 per cent — a move long urged by U.S. officials as a key step to stabilizing the dollar and preventing a global economic slump.

Within 45 minutes of the move, part of a concerted round of European interest rate reductions, the dollar jumped by more than a penny and nearly a yen to around 1.66 Deutschmarks and 132.85 yen. It firmed to around 1.36 Swiss francs and gained about 1.5 cents to trade

at \$1.80 to the pound sterling. It was holding to those levels in New York by early afternoon.

It had edged higher just before the West German cut when British banks cut their base lending rates by half a point to 8.5 per cent, acting on

The Bank of France, meanwhile, quickly followed the West German cut with a quarter-point cut in one of its key rates. The Dutch central bank cut three of its key rates by a quarter point. Austria, whose currency is closely linked to the Deutschmark, cut its discount rate by half a point.

The British rate cuts boosted London share prices. The benchmark Financial Times 100 share index jumped about 13 points after the cuts to hit a day's high of 1608.5, for a total gain of 18.5 points from Wednesday's close.

The Frankfurt bourse closed be-

fore the Bundesbank announced its decision, with share prices under pressure. The Commerzbank 60-share index, calculated at midday, was up two points to 1335.2.

Dealers in both currency and stock had seen a cut in the German discount rate as key to buoying confidence in markets still jittery after the mid-October crash in share values. It was especially important to West German investors, since lower interest rates should boost company profits, cutting borrowing costs and stimulating economic expansion.

Faster growth in West Germany should keep budget cuts in the U.S. from further slowing an already sluggish world economy, dealers said. It would also help cut the massive U.S. trade deficit by boosting West German demand for American goods.

Dow falls to lowest level since collapse

NEW YORK (AFP). — Wall Street appeared oblivious yesterday to the cuts in European interest rates and a buoyant economic report from the U.S. Commerce Department.

The Dow Jones Industrial Average was off nearly 70 points in the final hour of trading, bringing it to its lowest level since the October 19 share crash. It was the second time this week the index had shed 70

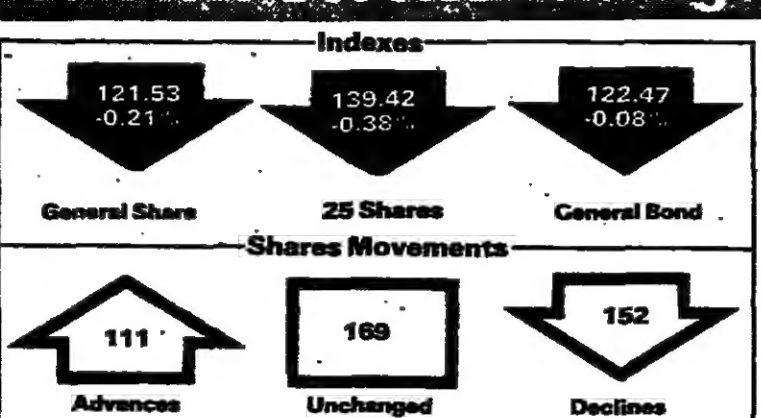
points in a single trading session.

Much of the recent decline in share prices has been blamed on the continuing decline of the dollar on the world money markets. And that decline was blamed by many Americans on the continued high interest rates in Europe. Indeed, a round of interest-rate cuts was started by the Bank of England yesterday (see accompanying story) was greeted

cheerfully in Washington.

But on Wall Street, the mood was different. The Dow, which started trading on the upside, soon went into the negative columns and the downward spiral gathered momentum even after West Germany announced interest rate cuts. Even a favourable report from the Commerce Department on factories or orders failed restore confidence.

Tel Aviv Stock Exchange



Selected Prices

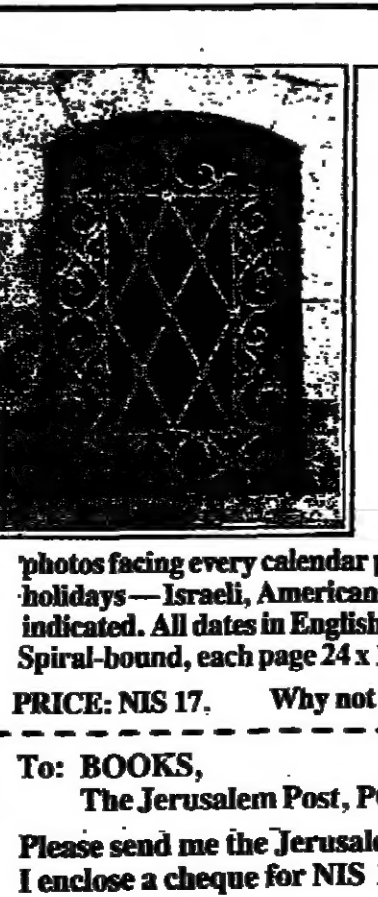
Name	Price	Volume	% change
Commercial Banks			
Bank Leumi	10100	175	-
Bank Hapoalim	10100	175	-
Bank Mizrahi	10100	175	-
Bank Discount	10100	175	-
Bank Hapoalim	10100	175	-
Bank Mizrahi	10100	175	-
Bank Discount	10100	175	-
Commercial Banks (part of arrangement)			
Bank Leumi	10100	175	-
Bank Hapoalim	10100	175	-
Bank Mizrahi	10100	175	-
Bank Discount	10100	175	-
Commercial Banks (part of arrangement)			
Bank Leumi	10100	175	-
Bank Hapoalim	10100	175	-
Bank Mizrahi	10100	175	-
Bank Discount	10100	175	-

Investment Companies

Name	Price	Volume	% change
First International	7722	890	-
First International	7722	890	-
First International	7722	890	-
First International	7722	890	-

J.O.E.L. 25 Shares

Name	Price	Volume	% change
First International	7722	890	-
First International	7722	890	-
First International	7722	890	-
First International	7722	890	-



Statistics

Stock Indices	Value	% change
General Share (incl. argmt.)	124.79	-0.34
Non-argmt.	124.03	-0.04
Argmt. Banks	124.03	-0.04
Argmt. Banks	124.03	-0.04

Bond Indices

Bond Indices	Value	% change
Index-linked Bonds	122.52	-0.08
Fully indexed	124.10	-0.03
Partially indexed	122.22	-0.18
Foreign Currency	118.54	-0.17

Turnovers

Turnovers	Value	% change
Total Shares	NIS 8,860.4	-
Non-arrangement	NIS 6,702.7	-
Arrangement	NIS 2,157.7	-

Share Movements

Share Movements	Value	% change
Advances	111	(220)
Declines	152	(161)
Unchanged	169	(16)

Bond Market Trends

Bond Market Trends	Value	% change
Index-linked	122.52	-0.08
Fully indexed	124.10	-0.03
Partially indexed	122.22	-0.18

Arrangement Yields

Arrangement Yields	Value	% change
Union 0.1	12.34	-
Discount A	12.33	-
Mizrahi R	12.31	-
Hapoalim R	12.30	-

Money Markets

Bank	Deposit	Rate	7 days	14 days	30 days
Bank Leumi	1,000,000	14.00	18.50	18.50	21.00
Bank Hapoalim	1,000,000	14.00	18.50	18.50	21.00
Bank Mizrahi	1,000,000	14.00	18.50	18.50	21.00
Bank Discount	1,000,000	14.00	18.50	18.50	21.00

Patah (foreign currency deposit rates, Dec. 4)

Currency (incl. deposit)	2 MONTHS	6 MONTHS	12 MONTHS
U.S. dollar (\$100,000)	7.12%	7.12%	7.12%
Pound sterling (£100,000)	7.12%	7.12%	7.12%
Deutsche Mark (DM 200,000)	7.12%	7.12%	7.12%

Shekel Foreign Exchange Rates (Dec. 3)

Currency	Rate	% change
U.S. dollar	1.66	-0.01
Deutsche Mark	1.32	-0.01
French franc	1.36	-0.01
Japanese yen (100)	1.66	-0.01

EUROPEAN FINANCIAL MARKETS (Dec. 3)

Precious Metals	Value	% change
Gold	485.95	-0.01
Silver	4.97	-0.01
Palladium	120.12	-0.01

Foreign Currency Crossrates (London 15:30 GMT)

Currency	Rate	% change
U.S. dollar	1.66	-0.01
Deutsche Mark	1.32	-0.01
French franc	1.36	-0.01

Share Indices

Share Indices	Value	% change
Commerzbank 60 stocks	1,335.2	+2.0
Financial Times 100 stocks	1,599.8	+4.5

NEW YORK FINANCIAL MARKETS (Dec. 3)

U.S. Money Rates	Value	% change
Prime rate	7.75%	-
Broker loan	8.25%	-
NY Fed (3 mos.)	7.75%	-

New York Foreign Exchange

Currency	Rate	% change
U.S. dollar	1.66	-0.01
Deutsche Mark	1.32	-0.01
French franc	1.36	-0.01

Statistics

Statistics	Value	% change
NYSE Volume	203,894,500	-
NASDAQ Volume	108,075,000	-

Israeli Stocks Traded in New York

NYSE/Amex	Last	Prev. close	High	Low	Vol.
Alcoa	19 1/2	19 1/2	19 1/2	19 1/2	2
Amgen	1 1/2	1 1/2	1 1/2	1 1/2	1
Amstar	1 1/2	1 1/2	1 1/2	1 1/2	1

OVERSEAS FINANCIAL DATA PROVIDED BY REUTERS MONITOR

Friday, October 30

in The Jerusalem Post we advised our clients to buy currency and gold options in anticipation of an imminent dollar devaluation.

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The quality of peace

A HAND-GRENADE was hurled early this week across the southern border at Rafiah, wounding an Israeli soldier. The act, presumably by terrorists, was apparently meant to convey displeasure with the just-celebrated 10-year old turn in Egypt's policy towards peace with this country. Ironically, it also served to trigger an outburst against the peace from peace-critics in four different Knesset factions on Wednesday.

The complaints, in the form of motions for the agenda, by Herut's Miriam Glaser-Ta'asa, the NRP's Haim Druckman, Tehiya's Geula Cohen and the Alignment's Amnon Linn were not, however, confined to the border incident itself.

More galling to the complainants was the tepid, if not chilling, response to the incident by Egypt's foreign minister, Esmat Abdel-Meguid, who dismissed it publicly as not worth making any fuss about, and as certain to have no effect on Egyptian-Israeli relations.

The complainants' wrath was, however, directed in the main at Foreign Minister Shimon Peres for volunteering opinion that Cairo was taking a duly grave view of the incident.

Their contention was, in effect, that the peace with Egypt was, if not rotten from the start, then rotting away due to Israeli appeasement of Egypt. In support the complainants also cited the unfurling of the PLO's flag over its reopened offices in Cairo last week. That unprovoked event, too, proved to Herut's Michael Eitan that Mr. Peres, whom he kept heckling from the floor, was Egypt's ambassador to Israel.

So badly aimed were most of the critical thrusts from right and centre that Mr. Peres had an easy time parrying them. The reopening of the PLO's offices in the Egyptian capital was deplorable, but the offices had been open for years before they were closed, not very long ago, and a PLO flag had rested on the negotiating table at Mena House during the early phase of peace talks sponsored by Menachem Begin and Anwar Sadat.

Where Mr. Peres got himself into trouble was in setting out what he considered to be the three conditions of sufficiency for the peace: the presence of an Israeli embassy in Egypt and an Egyptian embassy in Israel, the continued demilitarization of the Sinai desert, and Egypt's refusal to renounce the Camp David accords in order to please the rest of the Arab states.

These may be necessary conditions for the survival of the treaty of peace with Egypt, but, if examined in the context of the mutual commitments to positive amity in all spheres of life that are inscribed in the treaty, they are quite insufficient.

It is heartening to learn, for example, that the Egyptian authorities have apprehended a Libyan-hired terrorist gang that has killed a number of Israelis in Egypt and plotted to kill some more, and will put its members on trial. But it is most disheartening to find government — not opposition — newspapers openly gloating over Israel's misfortune on the night of the gliders.

Mr. Abdel-Meguid's rather peculiar reaction to the Rafiah border incident as a routine mishap was certainly not hostile, but neither was it too reassuring. To make mountains out of what may be only molehills in Israel's relations with Egypt is self-defeating, but to present a crooked road to peace as if it were straight, as Mr. Peres suggested, is absurd, and undercuts credibility.

Telling it as it is

IN AN EXCHANGE with students at a yeshiva yesterday, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir was asked for his opinion about the cause of the present and growing rift between secular and religious Jews in this country.

Mr. Shamir did not, as might have been expected from some previous observations of his, lay the blame for the rift on the failure of the non-Orthodox to keep the Shabbat and other commandments. His reply was that, just as there is no more powerful stimulus for Jewish unity in the land than serving in the armed forces together, so there is no more insidious cause of national division than the refusal of some groups among the people to serve in the army.

That was honest and blunt talk, even courageous, given the setting, and the premier deserves to be commended for it. Yet how lamentable it is that such a simple, frank acknowledgment of an obvious fact of life should be an occasion for applause.

THE MORNING AFTER

"Why," asked the mother of one of the six soldiers killed at a Nahal base in the north last week, "should they be blaming the guard at the gate, when the camp had no fence around it?"

On Wednesday the Chief of Staff announced his judgements against those responsible for the failure. The guard at the gate and the unit's operations officer are to be tried. The Nahal commander is to be transferred to another job in the army, saved from harsher punishment because he had been in his job for just two weeks, and a regional divisional commander was reprimanded.

Questions have been raised, however, as to why the chain of responsibility has stopped there. That the terrorist came through the base's front gate is coincidental, as the mother claims, if there was no fence around the camp. And neither of the men reprimanded in the army's report was responsible for the lack of adequate defences at the Nahal base.

O.C. Northern Command, Aluf Yossi Peled, has taken public responsibility for this, saying it was his decision to devote all the limited resources at his disposal to defences for IDF units in the Lebanese security zone. Presumably, this will now be reassessed.

The men singled out for punishment were also not responsible for the intelligence failure that preceded the attack, nor the inability of the super-sophisticated helicopters dispatched to hunt down the intruder to do so — this, though they had some 20 minutes in which to do so.

And while the guard and operations officer were undoubtedly negligent in their duties, they cannot be considered the ultimate address for the lack of fighting spirit and ability demonstrated by the unit attacked last Wednesday.

The unit was not composed of raw recruits, but soldiers who had completed basic and advanced infantry training. They were considered proficient enough to dispatch to Israel's most volatile border. Who was responsible for that decision?

Surely not the guard at the gate.

Hirsh Goodman

Israel's Best
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Come Visit
The Shrine
of the Book

Soviet leader aiming for consensus among the five great powers

The world according to Mr. Gorbachev

THE MAIN business of the forthcoming Reagan-Gorbachev summit will be arms control — to celebrate the abolition of the IMF missiles and to sound out the possibilities of other disarmament measures.

From the Soviet perspective, Mikhail Gorbachev is going to Washington to mark the successful resolution of the first round in the campaign for the "safer world" the Soviets feel they need. This Soviet concern is going to move regional issues, such as the Israel-Arab dispute, higher than expected on the non-military agenda of the summit.

An indication as to how the Soviets might play the next round was given in an article by Gorbachev published in both *Pravda* and *Izvestia* on September 17. It announced a radical change in Soviet policy regarding the role of the United Nations.

For some reason, the Western media at first paid scant attention to the announcement. Only when the Russians followed up the article by saying that the USSR was going to repay the \$197 million arrears owed to the UN for peace-keeping operations, did the West realize that Moscow meant it for real.

Much of the article is declaratory rather than substantive — no doubt the work of a team of experts. Nevertheless, entirely new Soviet conceptions on the interpretation of the roles of the Security Council and the International Court of Justice are brought forward. But the grand view of the world is unmistakably that of Gorbachev himself.

It therefore merits special attention, particularly on issues such as arms control, East-West relations and trouble spots like the Middle East.

GORBACHEV'S leitmotif is stability. It abounds in words such as realism, reasonableness, mutual benefits, consensus, consultation, negotiation, interdependence and, above all, safeguards. The permanent members of the Security Council are to protect the world order against unpleasant surprises from minor offenders: regional conflicts are to be nipped in the bud.

He writes with the utmost sincerity.

ity when he cautions against the dangers of "nuclear piracy." The world may have been turned into a global village, but this only makes it more important to rush in the fire brigade to stop the arson from spreading.

Some of Gorbachev's thoughts, such as non-interference in the internal affairs of member states, are old and belong to the usual routine of a Soviet statement in the UN. However, when he goes further in speaking out against the admissibility of acts of destabilization among member states, he is breaking new ground.

No less remarkable are the omissions. Absent are the *de rigueur* denunciations of imperialism, colonialism, racism and, even more important, the obligatory praise for the Non-Aligned Movement.

THE CORNERSTONE of the new order is to be the old framework of the UN Charter, resting on a consensus among the five permanent members of the Security Council. The element of consensus is stressed, and there is a hint that this is to be the preferred method of decision-making, rather than taking a vote that may well result in a veto.

The Security Council is to discard the role of a passive recipient of complaints whenever a dispute is brought to its attention. From now on, it will be its duty to take the initiative in forcing potential adversaries to seek consultation and aid, in order to arrive at a peaceful settlement of a dispute.

To keep the peace (and here Gorbachev dramatically changes course), the Council may sometimes have recourse to assigning UN observers or military formations to separate the combatants. This new approach seems to lie behind Moscow's haste to repay the \$197 million

it owed to the UN peace-keeping fund; although the immediate need may be to use a UN peace force to help Russia get off the hook in Afghanistan.

THOUGH THE ARTICLE does not say so explicitly, the Soviet Union apparently envisages the more frequent application of Chapter Seven of the Charter — the taking of "action by air, sea and land forces to maintain or restore international security...."

Why this sudden love for the UN? Why has Soviet Russia, which for years has resisted the stationing of UN observers in the world's trouble spots, suddenly made an about-turn?

The answer is that Gorbachev realizes that the Soviets can now get far more mileage out of the UN.

Arieh Eilan

In 1950, the United States intervened in Korea and General Douglas MacArthur was appointed as commander of a "United Nations" Expeditionary Force. The army was American and Korean, with a token force of some of America's allies.

The U.S. used a procedural gimmick to circumvent the Russian veto in the Security Council and turned the matter over to the General Assembly, where there was a comfortable American majority to make sure that the UN declared war on North Korea.

Today, the proportion of forces in the UN has turned full circle. Among the 159 members, only about 18 belong to the West. Often the U.S. can rely on only four or five states (Israel among them) to register their dissent against a Soviet-sponsored draft resolution. All UN-affiliated bodies, such as the UN Committee on Disarmament or the

Commission of Human Rights, reflect this huge Soviet Non-Aligned majority.

Small wonder that Gorbachev has come to like the UN. In fact the day may come when the Russians will feel secure enough to "do a Korea" to circumvent the American veto in the Security Council, and have a Soviet general lead a UN force against some recalcitrant member state.

Though admittedly this is unlikely, the Soviet Union may very well come to imitate the American practices of the Fifties and Sixties, and relegate some sensitive issues to the UN rather than becoming directly involved, knowing that, come what may, the result is going to be in Moscow's favour.

GORBACHEV'S other remedies for world problems contain little by way of innovation. For instance, he continues to define human rights in classical Marxist terms. The fact that world ecology-needs protection is newish — a far cry from the early Seventies, when a Soviet representative announced to the General Assembly that pollution was a strictly capitalist problem.

However, when he mentions the problems of atomic energy for peaceful purposes and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, one feels that he is not merely going through the motions — this really matters to him. The danger of "nuclear piracy" is evidently uppermost in his mind. His suggestions for dealing with these problems are both vague and unconvincing.

Of significance is a brief passage about the International Court of Justice and the desirability of more disputes being brought before it for settlement.

A somewhat disturbing novelty in Gorbachev's words is that the five permanent members of the Security

Council should acquire the additional responsibility of encouraging (forcing) member states to accept compulsory jurisdiction between contending parties, whether they like it or not.

To sum up: When Gorbachev outlines his philosophy about a more secure world served by a revitalized United Nations, one has the impression that he is convinced that the Superpowers, in spite of all their differences, will always find a *modus vivendi*. The dangers lie in what the Russian dictionary calls "hotbeds of war" (*otchagi*). Gorbachev holds it essential that the element of unpredictability be reduced to an absolute minimum.

THE RELEVANCE to Israel is abundantly clear. The Israel-Arab dispute is an *otchag* if ever there was one. The Russians have spelled out very clearly how they propose to deal with it.

Nearly a year ago, the Soviet delegation to the General Assembly submitted an amendment to a resolution on the Palestinian Question. It called for "the setting up of a preparatory committee within the framework of the Security Council with the participation of the Council's permanent members to take the necessary action to convene the [international conference]."

In the terminology of Gorbachev's article of September 17, Israel will have no choice but to submit to the decision of the five permanent members of the Council.

What happens if the Americans say "nyet"? The answer is nothing — for a while. But what if the elections of 1988 American policy changes — which it well might?

These uncertainties call for hard thinking, for the real question is whether or not Israel can expect to get better terms for itself if it appears as one of the sponsors of the conference rather than being dragged kicking and screaming before a unanimous Security Council threatening the application of Chapter Seven.

The writer is a former ambassador in Finland and a former senior Foreign Ministry official who for many years attended the sessions of the UN General Assembly.

READERS' LETTERS

THE ROLE OF ANESTHESIOLOGISTS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — It was pleasant to read in your issue of November 24 the appreciation of saving the lives of mother and daughter during a complicated procedure of both heart surgery and Caesarean section. The mother who had a severe heart disease during pregnancy and the baby are both doing well.

It is important to stress that such a procedure is not every-day routine. It requires a very high quality of anesthetic assessment and careful and safe anesthetic management. Without this, the outcome could have been quite different. It is interesting that newspapers nearly always are in a rush to publish fatalities during anesthesia. One feels that there is a lack of awareness of the contribution of proper anesthetic care during complicated surgery.

One has to realize that development and progress in modern surgery will never take place without advanced anesthesia and staff. The progress of high-level surgery, i.e. open-heart, brain surgery, transplantation of organs, trauma care, etc. depends on highly qualified and dedicated specialists in anesthesia.

The anesthetists in Israel are frustrated because of very difficult working conditions and poor salaries. We are in the process of struggling for better working conditions which could improve both the quality and numbers of our manpower. Unfortunately, neither of the "employers" understand this crisis.

PROF. I. MONIES-CHASS, Chairman
The Israel Society of Anesthesiologists
Haifa.

MORE ON WALDHEIM

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — A Reuters story from London, as printed in The Jerusalem Post of October 23, quotes from Sir Brian Urquhart's new book, *A Life in Peace and War*, what its author has to say about Kurt Waldheim, whose "emerging as a living lie has done immense damage not only to his own country, but to the United Nations...."

Reuter (or The Post) omitted the following interesting sentence from the quote from Urquhart's book: "This [lying] seems to me a far

greater disqualification for responsible office, either national or international, than the currently available evidence of his doings as an officer in Hitler's army."

MICHAEL ELIZUR
Jerusalem.

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THE RIGHT TO DIE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — I don't understand why so much fuss is being made about Gideon Nakash's right to die in peace. This right is implicit in the present legal stipulation which prohibits an operation without the prior consent of the patient. Surely, connecting a patient to a life-sustaining machine is essentially an operation.

Anybody who wants to reach a decision on this subject should not refer to theories elaborated by uninvolved people, but should put himself in the place of the patient.

A. KARNI

GOELL IS RIGHT

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — I wish to express my appreciation to your writer, Yosef Goell, for his article of November 25 on the proposed deportation of Palestinian Mubarak Awad.

In the past several years, I have admired Mr. Goell's forthright and precise highlighting of the crucial issues in this part of the world in our times. In my opinion, he is "right on" again.

CONSTANCE SOLOMON
Jerusalem.

UNJUSTIFIED INTERFERENCE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — U.S. Ambassador Pickering's public statements supporting the Palestinian activist, now U.S. citizen, Mubarak Awad, seem to me to be inappropriate from both the legal and the diplomatic point of view.

Under established principles of international law, Israel can deal with its former nationals in accordance with its own law and practice, and the U.S. government can claim no legal wrong. If Awad had failed to serve in the Israeli army or to pay his Israeli taxes, his prosecution in

Israel could not be the subject of legitimate complaint by the U.S. government. Much less could the U.S. government complain of Israel's failure to extend the visitor's stay of an avowed supporter of the PLO, an organization dedicated to Israel's destruction.

Such publicly pronounced advice to Israel seems clearly an interference in Israel's internal affairs.

LEON WILDES,
Adjunct Professor of Law,
Cardozo School of Law,
New York
Jerusalem (New York).

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